MEMOIRS

OF

Lieutenant General

LUDLOW.

The Third and Laſt Part.

WITH A

Collection of Original Papers, ſerving to confirm and illuſtrate many important Paſſages of this and the preceding Volumes.

To which is added, *A Table to the whole Work.*

Switzerland,

Printed at *Vevay* in the Canton of *Bern*, 1699.

UMI

THE PREFACE.

WHEN *the two former Volumes of theſe Memoirs were publiſhed, the Author's Friends had no deſign of letting the reſt of his Papers go abroad; as well becauſe thoſe already printed contain the moſt remarkable Tranſactions that paſſed during the whole time that* England *was governed without a King, as becauſe much of this following Part conſiſts of Things relating to his own Perſon. But the good reception which the other Volumes have found in moſt parts of*

Europe, *and the inceſſant Inquiries of divers Perſons of Worth and Honour concerning theſe Remains, has induced the Friends of the Author to think that the Publick might have juſt cauſe to complain, if they ſhould be denied the View of the following Papers. And indeed, after a careful peruſal of them, they find, if they miſtake not, that they will afford ſuch Inſtructions as may prove not unſerviceable to the World. For Men will ſee that tho' the moſt violent Animoſity and Deſire of Revenge had ſo poſſeſs'd the Engliſh Court againſt thoſe who had any part in the death of* Charles I. *that they thought the moſt baſe and treacherous ways of compaſſing their Ends, not to be rejected; yet many Years were*

ſpent,

ſpent, many Vilains unſucceſsfully employ'd, ſome of them puniſhed, much Treaſure conſumed, and more Infamy contracted, whilſt they could not find means to aſſaſſinate more than one of all thoſe who had withdrawn themſelves from their Fury; and that the principal Perſon againſt whom they directed their Malice, lived to ſee that Tyranny brought to the laſt degree of Contempt, which had taken ſo much Pains to deſtroy him. The Tragical End of the King's Judges may be an Inſtruction to thoſe who ſhall in future time appear in the Defence of Liberty, to avoid all occaſions of Diviſion, to uſe their Power with Moderation, and to content themſelves with ſuch a Share in the Publick Felicity, as may be conſiſtent

ſtent with the Publick Safety. Men may learn from the Iſſue of the Cromwellian Tyranny, That Liberty and a Standing Mercenary Army are incompatible. For 'tis as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that the Parliament by neglecting to put a Period to the exorbitant Greatneſs of Oliver Cromwel immediately after the Battle at Worceſter, drew Deſtruction upon themſelves and the whole Common-wealth; and gave the Army ſuch an opportunity to feel their Strength as naturally led them to Counſels deſtructive to the Government. This produced that monſtrous Tyranny of the Uſurper and his Baſha's under the Name of Majors General, and afterwards compelled the People to ſuffer the return

of

of Charles II. *The Ingratitude of that Prince to the Presbyterians, who had ſo well deſerved from him by betraying all into his Hands, may ſerve to admoniſh thoſe who go under that, or any other Denomination of Religion or Party, That no Truſt can be ſafely repoſed, where there is found an incompatibility of Manners and Principles; and that a Revenge taken againſt thoſe who will not let us poſſeſs all, is a ſlender Satisfaction for the hazard of utter Ruin. But theſe, and perhaps many other more uſeful Reflections, judicious Men will be much better able to make, than others to ſuggeſt.*

Bern, March 26,
1699.

ERRATA.

PAge 24. line 5. read *Meſſage*, p. 29. l. 30. r. *had*, p. 35. l. 29. r. *excepted*, p. 44. l. 3. r. *they*, p. 82. l. 16. r. *Accuſation*, p. 122. l. 9. r. *gloire*, p. 137. l. 14. r. *in*, p. 140. l. 31. r. *deſtroy*, p. 196. l. 12. r. *him*, p. 245. l. 26. r. *Rochefort*, p. 246. l. 14. r. *alſo*, p. 248. l. 13. r. *had*, p. 258. l. 2. r. *Tranſportation*, p. 297. l. 7. r. *eaſie*, p. 324. l. 30. r. *he*, p. 367. l. 30. r. *reſume*.

MEMOIRS
OF
Edmund Ludlow, *Esq;*

VOL. III.

THE Convention at *Weſtminſter* having thought themſelves ſufficiently authorized to alter the Government, by virtue of which they had been called together, and rewarded Sir *John Greenvil* for the Meſſage he had brought, the Proclamation for the readmiſſion of Monarchy in the Perſon of *Charles Stuart*, was publiſhed on the Eighth of *May*, in the preſence of the new General *George Monk*. Bonfires were made, the Bells were rung, and much Happineſs expected from this Change. The Officers of the Army ſubſcribed a Declaration, and preſented it to *Monk* to be ſent to the King, in which they expreſſed a Reſolution to become true and faithful Subjects, and to accept of the King's Grace and Favour, according to the Tenour of His late Declaration

from *Breda*. Whilſt theſe Things were doing, I kept my ſelf private at the Houſe of a particular Friend, till I might better underſtand what the Iſſue was like to be; for the Council of State had, on the Day I arrived at *London*, ſent Orders into the Weſt of *England* for ſeizing my Perſon, which probably might have been ſerved upon me, if I had returned by the uſual Road. Fifteen Commiſſioners were appointed to be ſent to *Breda* to complement the new King, and to attend him in his Paſſage to *England*, Five to be nominated by the Lords, and Ten by the Commons. But every Man expecting ſome Mark of Favour to be conferred on him for this Service, great Contentions aroſe among the Members for that Employment. To theſe, many others, eſpecially of the looſer ſort of Men, added themſelves; and ſome, to make an early Offer of their Subjection, and to provide themſelves of Favour and Places, went over before the Commiſſioners, and being one Day with their King in his Apartment, boaſting of their Loyalty and Services, he called for Wine, and applying himſelf to the Duke of *York*, drank to the Health of thoſe Gentlemen, with this Remark, That he was now even with them, having as he thought done as much for them as they had done for him.

The Committee of Privileges and Elections having declared me to have been duly re-

returned to ſerve for the Borough of *Hinden* in the County of *Wilts*, and made their Report, which was agreed by the Houſe, I received an Order for my admiſſion to ſit as a Member, but clogged with this unuſual Clauſe, *That I ſhould attend my Duty in the Houſe, and take my Place by a certain Day*; which would be within ten Days after the Date of the ſaid Order. Suſpecting that the reaſon of this Inſertion might proceed from ſome Information given by the Council of State that I had withdrawn my ſelf, I thought fit to make my Application to Mr. *Arthur Anneſly*, knowing him to be a leading Man among them, as well to give him Satisfaction touching the cauſe of my abſence, as to learn from him what might be the Reaſon of that addition. And tho' I well underſtood, That being now declared to be a Member of that which was called a Houſe of Commons, no other Power could ſeize me without Breach of their Privileges; yet the ſame Council of State ſtill ſitting, which had procured from the Secluded Members a Power to ſeize any Member that did not ſit, and conſidering that Things were carried on with the utmoſt Treachery, I ſent a Servant to let him know I would wait on him at Night. He received me with great Civility, and having conducted me to his Apartment, I acquainted him, That the end of my coming to him at that time, was to aſ-

ſure him that my late Privacy did not proceed from any deſign that I had on foot againſt the preſent Power; but that finding the Wheel to go round ſo faſt, that it was difficult to gueſs where it might reſt, I thought a Man, who had been engaged with the firſt againſt the King, and always zealous for a Common-wealth Government, might be excuſed, if he was unwilling to be found in Priſon at the King's return; eſpecially ſince it was well known that a Warrant had been ſigned for my ſeizure: And therefore I deſired he would favour me to inform thoſe that were in Power, with the true Reaſons of my abſence. He anſwer'd, That tho' I had been zealous in the way I mentioned, yet that he and others were well ſatisfied, that my Intentions were directed to the Publick Good; and tho' he could not blame me for taking Meaſures to avoid a Confinement, yet he aſſured me that a Hair of my Head ſhould not ſuffer any more than his own. He then acquainted me with the Paſſages that had happened in the Houſe upon the Report from the Committee touching my Election: That tho' nothing was ſaid againſt it; yet becauſe I was the Perſon concerned, who, as they ſaid, had conſtantly oppoſed them, and withdrawn my ſelf out of their Protection, a Vote of the Houſe had probably paſſed againſt agreeing with the Committee, if he had

had not ſtood up and deſired the Houſe, " That they would not do an Act upon a " Perſonal Diſtaſte, of which they would be " aſhamed when they ſhould better conſider " the Matter: That Juſtice ought to be " impartial, and that nothing being al- " ledged againſt the Report of the Com- " mittee, it ought to be taken for good: " That if the Perſon concerned had done " any thing amiſs, he being a Member " ought to anſwer it in his place. This Motion being ſeconded by Mr. *Matthew Hale*, prevailed with the Houſe to allow the Report with the addition before-mentioned. He took this occaſion to tell me, That there was a young head-ſtrong Party in the Houſe, who in all Debates were for the moſt violent Courſes, and that it would be very difficult to keep them in order; yet adviſed me to take my Place in the Houſe as ſoon as I could. I thought fit to follow his Council, not only to undeceive thoſe who thought I would continue in my Retirement, but alſo by coming among them before I was expected, to diſturb the Meaſures of thoſe who waited for my Ruin. I choſe to go into the Houſe early in the Morning, and immediately went up into the Speaker's Chambers, where I was no ſooner ſate down, when Major *Robert Harley* came to me and deſired, That if any thing ſhould be objected againſt me by any Member of the Houſe, which

he ſuppoſed would happen, and that the Houſe ſhould require me to anſwer, I would by all means forbear to ſay any thing in juſtification of the Proceedings of the High Court of Juſtice againſt the late King, becauſe it would not be ſuffered. I told him that unleſs I was conſtrained, I ſaw no Reaſon to mention that Matter; but in that Caſe, tho' it ſhould coſt me my Life, I could not prevaricate.

Some of the Members, who during the time of the Parliament's Proſperity had gone as high with them as any others, now reproached me with the preſent Condition of Affairs; To whom I contented my ſelf to reply in general, That if they liked it not they might thank themſelves; and that as to my own Particular, my Conſcience did not at all accuſe me for contributing to the Change, or not uſing my Endeavours to prevent it. Others ſaid, They had frequently admoniſhed us that Things would be brought to this paſs, by rendring the Foundations of our Party too narrow. But to theſe I anſwered, That they knew my Principles and Practices to have been ſuch in that reſpect, as had drawn upon me the Cenſures of many. Divers of thoſe who in *Richard*'s Convention had joined with the Common-wealth Intereſt, now appeared to be totally altered, whilſt others who had oppoſed them at that time, now wiſhed for Sir *Henry Vane* and ſome others

others to balance the Royal Party. But thoſe who had continued in their Fidelity to the Publick Cauſe, tho' they durſt not ſpeak out by Reaſon of the preſent Torrent, yet ſhook their Heads to expreſs their diſlike of the preſent Affairs.

The Commiſſioners who had been Voted to be ſent to *Breda* being to be nominated that day, I took my Place in the Houſe, divers Members ſollicited me to inſert their Names in my Paper. But tho' it was my fortune to be one of this Convention, that I might not altogether neglect my own Preſervation; yet reſolving to have no part in betraying the Common-wealth, by Re-eſtabliſhing the Government, againſt which I had engaged, and contracting the Guilt of that Blood which had been ſhed in the late Wars, I determin'd to put in no Paper of Names. To this end I went out of the Houſe; but the Serjeant at Arms being commanded by the Speaker to call in all the Members to be Numbred, and ſeeing me, was very earneſt with me to return to the Houſe: I told him, I deſigned not to put in any Paper, and therefore it was not neceſſary I ſhould be Numbred. In the mean time, the Serjeant received freſh Orders to ſummon the Members, and repeating his importunity with me, told me plainly, If I would not go into the Houſe, he would inform the Speaker of my Refuſal; which had he done,

'tis probable I ſhould have been ſent to the *Tower*. But having deſired him to inquire of ſome ancient Member, whether it was neceſſary for one who would put in no Paper, to be Numbred with the reſt; he went to Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and Serjeant *Glynn* to ask the Queſtion; who, I ſuppoſe, ſatisfied the Serjeant it was not neceſſary: For looking down from the Gallery, I perceived both of them to ſmile whilſt he was with them; but eſpecially becauſe I heard no more of that Matter.

This Buſineſs being over, the Houſe fell into a Debate touching Perſons to be entruſted with the great Seal. All agreed in Mr. *Tyrrel*; but it was objected againſt Serjeant *Fountain*, That tho' he had been formerly for the King, yet he had of late ſhewed himſelf a great Promoter of the Reformation of the Law. Many preſſed that the Earl of *Mancheſter* might be one of the Commiſſioners; but others who were better inform'd of Affairs, objecting, That it would be a diſhonour to the Earl, to be put into a Place, which they aſſured the Houſe was already given away to another Perſon, no more was ſaid concerning him. In the Afternoon I went to the Committee of Elections, which ſate in the Houſe: Another day I ſate with the Members in the Abby to hear a Sermon, and indeavour'd in all things ſo to carry my ſelf, as to give no

Occaſion

Occaſion to ſuſpect me to be under any Apprehenſions of Danger; hoping by this means to diſcourage my Enemies from moving any thing againſt me, which I knew the Cavalier Party inclined to do out of Principle; and divers of thoſe who had ſerved the Parliament, would not fail to comply with, from a prudential Care of themſelves; hoping not only to make their own Peace, by Sacrificing thoſe who had been moſt faithful to the Publick, but alſo to procure Favour and Preferment for themſelves.

During this time, I had ſent Orders to my Bailiff in *Ireland*, to ſell my Stock, which in Sheep, Black Cattle, Corn and Horſes, might amount to about Fifteen Hundred Pounds, and to Collect the Rents that were due to me from my Tenants. But he being Negligent, I made over my Stock to my Brother-in-Law, Colonel *Kempſon*, for Satisfaction of my Siſter's Portion, preſſing him to ſend ſome Perſon forthwith to take Poſſeſſion; which not being done with the Expedition that was requiſite in ſuch a Conjuncture, Sir *Charles Coote*, without any Order or Pretence of Authority from the Parliament, made Seiſure of all; forcing my Tenants to Pay my Rents to him, and Commanding my Servant not to diſpoſe of any part of my Stock but by his Order: Only four ſtone Horſes which I had bred,

bred, and were then in my Stable, were taken away by Colonel *Theophilus Jones*; theſe Men, who had engag'd in the ſame Cauſe, out-doing our Enemies in Rage and Cruelty to us.

In the Convention things went high, Men not daring to ſhew Moderation leſt it ſhould be called Diſaffection to the King; but in private, divers Members of both Houſes declar'd themſelves of Opinion, That a General Indemnity ought to be granted for all that had paſſed, without any Exception. The Earl of *Northumberland* was heard to ſay, That tho' he had no part in the death of the King, he was againſt queſtioning thoſe who had been concern'd in that Affair; that the Example might be more uſeful to Poſterity, and profitable to future Kings, by deterring them from the like Exorbitancies. And the Lord *Fairfax* on that Subject plainly ſaid, That if any Perſon muſt be excepted, he knew no Man that deſerved it more than himſelf, who being General of the Army at that time, and having Power ſufficient to prevent the Proceedings againſt the King, had not thought fit to make uſe of it to that end. Divers alſo of the Commons moved that Limitations and Conditions might be drawn up, on which they ſhould Conſent to receive their King; 'till at length finding that *Monk* who had the Power in his Hand, gave conſtant

In-

Intelligence of all that was ſaid and by whom, none of them durſt inſiſt any farther on thoſe Heads. And that he might compleat his Treachery, when the Lord *Say* propoſed to him, that for the quiet of Mens Minds, an Act of Indemnity ſhould be paſſed, in which ſome of thoſe who had been principally concerned in the death of the King might be excepted; He in a great Rage anſwer'd, *Not a Man; for if I ſhould ſuffer ſuch a thing, I ſhould be the arranteſt Rogue that ever lived.* Yet for all this, under Colour that the Houſe might have better Terms from their King, by relying on his Ingenuity than by Capitulating with him, eſpecially at a diſtance, he had the Confidence to move them, That their Commiſſioners might be impower'd ſimply to invite him into *England*. Which Motion concurring with the Opinion of the unforeſeeing Cavaliers among them, and diſliked only by thoſe who had not Courage enough to publiſh their Diſſent, for fear of expoſing themſelves to a future Revenge, was taken for the Senſe of the whole Houſe, and ſo paſſed.

Sir *Charles Coote* having opened the bloody Scene by the ſeizure of the Chief Juſtice *Coke* in *Ireland*, a Party of the *Staffordſhire* Militia, Commanded by one Colonel *Bowyer*, thought themſelves ſufficiently Authorized to act in the like manner; and there-

therefore ſeized Major General *Harriſon* with his Horſes and Arms, he having refuſed, upon Advice of their Intentions, to withdraw himſelf from his Houſe, accounting ſuch an Action to be a Deſertion of the Cauſe in which he had engaged; tho' many Precepts and Examples might be produced, even from the Scriptures, to juſtifie Men who endeavour to avoid the Cruelty of Enemies and Perſecutors, by removing themſelves where they may be protected. For that only can properly be called a Deſertion of the Cauſe, when Men diſown it to ſave their Lives, and not when they endeavour to ſecure themſelves by lawful Means, in Order to promote it. But I ſhall not take upon me to Cenſure the Conduct of the Major General, not knowing what extraordinary Impulſe one of his Virtue, Piety, and Courage may have had upon his Mind in that Conjuncture. Sure I am, he was every way ſo qualified for the part he had in the following Sufferings, that even his Enemies were aſtoniſhed and confounded.

The King's Party in the Houſe of Commons having got ſuch an Aſcendent, that it was no longer ſafe to oppoſe them, drove on furiouſly, and procured a Reſolution to be paſſed for ſeizing the Perſons of all thoſe who had ſigned the Warrant for the Execution of the late King; which though carried

ried with all poſſible Privacy, yet being not deſtitute of Friends among them, I had timely Notice of their Intentions: And becauſe I doubted not that the Houſe where I liv'd would be ſuddenly ſearched, I went to another in *Southampton* Buildings, belonging to one of my Relations, where I had appointed ſome Friends to meet me in the Evening, and to bring me an account of what had paſſed at *Weſtminſter*. When I came to the Houſe, I found my Friends had been in great Pain for me; the time that I had appointed for our Meeting being paſs'd by almoſt two Hours, through the Fault of my Watch. Upon the account I received of the State of our Affairs, we enter'd into a Debate concerning the Courſe I ſhould take to preſerve my ſelf from the Danger that threatned me; and the Company adviſed that I ſhould forthwith remove from the Houſe where I was, becauſe the Entrance was in ſo publick a Place that it was probable I might have been obſerv'd at my coming in: For this Reaſon I conſented to go immediately to the Houſe of another Friend, which was not far diſtant, and had a back Gate leading to ſeveral other Houſes, with an intention to ſtay there till Night, and then to repair to a more private Place in *London*, which had been prepared for me ſome Days before. Night being come, and I ready to depart, my Friend,

Friend, tho' not inſenſible of the Danger that might enſue by Entertaining me, would by no means let me go, alledging, That on the Night of that Day, when a Reſolution of ſuch Importance had paſſed the Houſe, the Watch in *London* would not fail of their accuſtomed Diligence. This being ſeconded by ſome of my neareſt Relations, who alſo adviſed me to ſtay, I was contented to acquieſce; and the next Morning was informed that the Watch had hardly permitted any Coach to paſs into *London* without ſome kind of Search.

The Order for ſeizing the King's Judges, not producing that ſudden Effect the Commons expected, provoked them to ſuch a degree, that they commanded their real and perſonal Eſtates to be forthwith ſeized in an extraordinary manner, contrary, I preſume, to the known Laws, which provide that no Confiſcation ſhall be made till after Conviction. But it ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that thoſe who had ſo far parted with their Prudence, to recal from a twelve Years Baniſhment, the Son of a Father whoſe Head had been publickly taken off, and inveſt him with the Government of a Nation, where this had been done, ſhould be no more ſollicitous for the Privileges of their Country-men.

The Houſe having received Information that Major General *Harriſon* was brought Priſoner

Priſoner to *London*, they order'd him to be ſent to the *Tower*, and that all his Horſes which had been taken from him by thoſe who had ſeized him at his Houſe, ſhould be brought to the Stables in the *Mewſe*, for the uſe of their King. Chief Juſtice *Coke* being alſo ſent to *London* by Sir *Charles Coote*, was by another Order committed Priſoner to the ſame Place.

In the mean time the Commiſſioners ſent from *England* to attend the new King, arrived at *Breda*, where Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, according to the Inſtructions he had received at *Weſtminſter* to impart their Meſſage to the King, going about to execute that Order, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundel*, who ſaid, It was inſolent in him to pretend that Honour, which belonged to another of the Commiſſioners, and named one that was his own Kinſman. But Mr. *Hollis* affirming, That the Houſe had entruſted him with their Complements and Deſires, the King thought fit to make up the Difference, and to ſuffer Mr. *Hollis* to perform his part. Fifty thouſand Pounds were ſent over by theſe Commiſſioners to pay the Debts of the King, and to equip him for his Journey to *England*, together with conſiderable Sums of Mony for the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*. Divers private Perſons alſo had taken care to make their Preſents. Among others, Mr. *William Lenthal*,

Lenthal, late Speaker of the Parliament, had commiſſionated a Friend to give the King Three thouſand Pounds from him, and to deſire that he might continue Maſter of the Rolls; but the Perſon he had employ'd was told, That the Place was already promiſed to another.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing in *Holland*, the Houſe of Commons were prepaing a Bill of Indemnity with all poſſible Diligence, that it might be ready to paſs at the arrival of the King. They unanimouſly agreed, That ſome of the King's Judges ſhould be excepted both as to Life and Eſtate, the remaining Diſpute being only about the number. Some propoſed, That all might be excepted, others would be contented with Twenty, and many with Thirteen: But *Monk* who had betray'd them all, expreſſing his Deſires to be for Moderation, they were reduced to Nine, which that Boutefeu *Pryn*, contrary to the Orders of the Houſe, undertook to name. Yet I was ſo far obliged to him, that my Name was not upon his Liſt. *Monk* at laſt prevailed with the Houſe to bring the number to Seven.

Colonel *John Jones*, who had acted as a Member of the High Court of Juſtice, being walking one Evening at ſome diſtance from his Lodging to take the Air, was ſeized, and ſent Priſoner to the *Tower* by Order of the Houſe; together with Mr. *Gregory Clement* another

another of thoſe Judges, who had conceal'd himſelf at a mean Houſe near *Grays Inn*. But ſome Perſons having obſerv'd that better Proviſions were carried to that Place than had been uſual, procured an Officer to ſearch the Houſe, where they found Mr. *Clement*, and preſuming him to be one of the King's Judges, tho' they knew him not perſonally, carried him before the Commiſſioners of the Militia for that Precinct: One of theſe Commiſſioners, to whom he was not unknown, after a ſlight Examination, had prevailed with the reſt to diſmiſs him; but as he was about to withdraw, it happen'd that a blind Man who had crowded into the Room, and was acquainted with the Voice of Mr. *Clement*, which was very remarkable, deſired he might be called in again; and demanded, if he was not Mr. *Gregory Clement*. The Commiſſioners not knowing how to refuſe his Requeſt, permitted the Queſtion to be ask'd; and he not denying himſelf to be the Man, was by that means diſcovered, and ſent to the *Tower* likewiſe.

Many of the Judges paſſed over into *Holland* and other Parts beyond the Seas, divers of them not without great Danger of being ſurprized. Of theſe, Mr. *Cornelius Holland* being at *Colcheſter*, in order to depart with the firſt occaſion, the Mayor of the Town was inform'd that a ſuſpected Perſon was lodged at a certain Inn; and that they ſup-

poſed him to be Major General *Lambert*. Upon this Notice the Inn was ſearched, and his Horſe with other Things ſeized at Four in the Morning: But Mr. *Holland* was already gone Abroad to receive a Sum of Mony from a Merchant of the Place, who was to begin a Journey to *London* early that day; and having received Advice of what had paſſed at the Inn, he was by the favour of a Friend convey'd out of Town, and by that means made his Eſcape.

The new King being ſuddenly expected, great Numbers of thoſe who had been Officers in the Cavalier Army, or were otherwiſe Zealous for him, procured Horſes and Cloths, for the moſt part upon Credit, and formed themſelves into Troops under the Lord *Litchfield*, Lord *Cleveland*, and that Apoſtate *Brown* the Wood-monger, in order to attend him at his Reception. And News being brought that he was put out to Sea, *Monk*, accompanied with a Guard of Horſe, marched to *Dover*, and received him at his Landing: The King embraced him, kiſſed him, and called him Father; and it might be truly ſaid, that in ſome reſpects they were very nearly Allied. At *Canterbury* the King preſented him with the George and Garter; the firſt was put on by the Duke of *York*, the other by the Duke of *Glouceſter*. And becauſe it was ſuſpected that the Army which had fought againſt him, might ſtill retain ſome of their for-

former Inclinations: It was reſolved that the King, with his Brothers, ſhall lodge at the Houſe of Colonel *Gibbons*, one of their Officers, at *Rocheſter*. Many Knights were made in this Journey, and Bonfires were to be ſeen in great Numbers on the Road; the inconſtant Multitude in ſome places burning the Badges of their own Freedom, the Arms of the Common-wealth. *Monk*'s Army was drawn up on *Blackheath*, and by the beſt Judges was thought to deſerve the Fool's Coat rather than the Souldier's Caſaque.

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of the City, treated their King with a Collation under a Tent, placed in St. *George*'s *Fields*; and Five or Six Hundred Citizens cloathed in Coats of black Velvet, and (not improperly) wearing Chains about their Necks, by an Order of the Common Council, attended on the Triumph of that day; with much more empty Pageantry which I purpoſely omit: But I muſt not paſs over the Folly and Inſolence manifeſted at that time by thoſe who had been ſo often Defeated in the Field, and had contributed nothing either of Bravery or Policy to this Change, in ordering the Souldiery to ride with Swords drawn through the City of *London* to *White-Hall*, the Duke of *York* and *Monk* leading the Way; and intimating (as was ſuppoſed) a Reſolution to maintain that by Force which had been obtain'd by Fraud.

The Lords, with thoſe who ſate in the Houſe of Commons, received the King at *Whitehall* after this tedious Cavalcade, where the Speakers of both Houſes loaded him with Complements; and took the beſt Care they could to make him believe himſelf to be the beſt, greateſt and braveſt Prince in the whole World. His anſwer to them was ſhort, by Reaſon, as he ſaid, of his preſent Diſcompoſure cauſed by the great Acclamations he had received in his Paſſage, which yet he pretended had been very agreeable to him, as they were Expreſſions of the Affections of his People.

Moſt of thoſe who had attended this Entry, finding the Streets through which they had paſſed to be full of People, returned to the City by the way of *Holborn*; by which means I had a View of them from the Houſe where I then was. And, I confeſs, it was a ſtrange Sight to me, to ſee the Horſe that had formerly belonged to our Army, now put upon an Employment ſo different from that which they had at firſt undertaken; eſpecially, when I conſider'd that for the moſt part they had not been raiſed out of the meaneſt of the People, and without diſtinction, as other Armies had been; but that they conſiſted of ſuch as had engaged themſelves from a Spirit of Liberty in the Defence of their Rights and Religion: But having been corrupted under the Tyranny of *Cromwel*, and kept up as a ſtanding

Force

Force againſt the People, they had forgotten their firſt Engagements, and were become as Mercenary as other Troops are accuſtomed to be.

The Diſſolution and Drunkenneſs of that Night was ſo great and ſcandalous, in a Nation which had not been acquainted with ſuch Diſorders for many Years paſt, that the King, who ſtill ſtood in need of the Presbyterian party which had betray'd all into his Hands, for their Satisfaction, cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſh'd, forbidding the drinking of Healths. But reſolving, for his own part, to be oblig'd to no Rule of any Kind, he publickly violated his own Order in a few days, at a Debauch in the Mulberry Garden; and more privately at another Meeting in the City, where he drank Healths to the utmoſt Exceſs till two in the Morning.

The Bill of Indemnity being not yet finiſhed, the Commons, out of a tender Care for their own Perſons and Eſtates, reſolving to make it ready with all Diligence, proceeded to the Nomination of the ſeven Perſons who were to be excepted for Condemning the late King to Death; and having agreed that Major General *Harriſon*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; and *William Say*, Eſq; ſhould be three of that Number, it was contrived that a Letter ſhould be brought to *Monk* at that inſtant (not without Suſpicion that he was the Author of the Deſign, to the end I might be inſerted) inform-

ing him, that I was in Arms at the Head of ſeveral hundred Men, in one of the Iſlands called the *Holmes*, and had declared againſt this Convention. The Letter being communicated to the Houſe, who were ready to give Credit to any thing of that Nature, had probably anſwered the end of the Contrivers of this Deſign, if ſomething, of which I was not inform'd, had not obliged them to adjourn abruptly. Yet upon this Alarum, one of my Friends in this Houſe, who had ſerved in the King's Army, and to whom I had been formerly uſeful at the time of his Compoſition, came in a great ſurprize to one that was his Siſter-in-Law, and alſo related to me, acquainting her with the Report; and telling her that he had engaged many Members, that were of the King's Party, to be for me; but that, if this ſhould prove to be true, neither they nor he could poſſibly ſerve me; and therefore deſired her to give me Notice with all Diligence of what had paſſed, that I might take ſome Courſe to ſatisfie the Parliament of the Falſhood of this Rumour. She promiſed him to endeavour ſo to do, and in the mean time aſſured him that ſhe knew the Report to be falſe. Upon this Aſſurance, which he immediately reported to the Party abovemention'd, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to paſs, that when they proceeded to compleat the Number of Seven, who were to be excepted both for Life and Eſtate, and had

agreed

agreed that Colonel *John Jones*, Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, and Mr. *Thomas Scot*, ſhould be added to the three before mentioned, a Motion being made by one Colonel *Skipwith* that I might be the ſeventh Man, he was not ſeconded: So that another Member propoſing Colonel *Barkſtead*, and no Man daring to ſay any thing either in Extenuation of the pretended Crime, or Commendation of the Perſons concerned, he was voted to fill up the Number. Chief Juſtice *Coke*, who had been Sollicitor to the High Court of Juſtice, Mr. *Broughton* who had been Clark, and Mr. *Edward Dendy* their Serjeant at Arms, were alſo excepted in the ſame manner. And that no Means of gratifying the Paſſions of our Enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that ſome of the late King's Judges were fled, order'd their Eſtates to be ſeized; it was contrived by the Creatures of the Court, who were a great part of the Houſe, that a Petition ſhould be drawn and preſented to the King, to iſſue out a Proclamation for requiring all thoſe of the late King's Judges and others therein named, to ſurrender themſelves within the Space of Fourteen Days, under Pain of Exception from the Benefit of the Act, both for Life and Eſtate.

This Petition having had its riſe from the Court, and on that account received with Joy by the King, ſoon produced a Proclamation

as had been desired, which being publisshed near my Lodgings, I heard the Officer distinctly, as he read it aloud to the People. But I found it difficult to resolve what to do: For tho' the Proclamation from *Breda* had declared the King would be satisfied, if some few Persons who had an immediate Hand in the Death of his Father, might be excepted from the Indemnity; yet finding himself now possess'd of the Throne, 'twas visible to all Men that he used the utmost of his Endeavours to influence the House of Commons to greater Severities than were at first pretended; and partly for Rapine, partly for Revenge, to except a great number of those, who had taken part with the Parliament, from any Benefit of the Act except only as to Life, their Estates being declared to be confiscated to the King. Among those who appeared the most basely subservient to these Exorbitancies of the Court, Mr. *William Prynn* was singularly remarkable, bringing in a Clause for excepting all those who had taken the Oath at the Council of State for abjuring the Family of the *Stuarts*, which the Clark undertaking to read without any Order of the House, Mr. *Clergies* Brother-in-Law to *Monk*, perceiving that Vice-Admiral *Lawson* would by this means be excluded from Pardon, and knowing that *Monk* had engaged to bring him off clear, most sharply rebuked the Clark for his Officiousness, and with the help of his Friends put a stop to that Motion. The

The Commons being acquainted, by Sir *Harbottle Grimeſton* their Speaker, That Mr. *William Heveningham*, Mr. *Simon Mayne*, and others of the late King's Judges had rendred themſelves into his Hands according to the late Proclamation, order'd them to be in the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the Houſe: Which when ſome of my Friends and Relations heard, they conſulted what might be beſt for me to do in this Conjuncture. Some were of Opinion I ſhould ſurrender my ſelf as others had done. Others were unwilling to adviſe in a Caſe wherein my Life was concerned; yet gave ſome obſcure Intimation, that if they were in my Condition, they would not put themſelves into the Hands of their Enemies: And one of them who was not unacquainted with the publick Affairs, gave it for his Opinion, That I ſhould by no means render my ſelf. Of this I received an Account by my Wife. But not being in the number of the Seven who were to be excepted, and my Affairs by reaſon of the ſudden Change altogether unſettled, I was willing to improve the preſent Opportunity, and if I might have no Favour in relation to my Eſtate, yet to ſettle at leaſt my private Affairs as well as I could. To this end I inclined to ſurrender my ſelf according to the Proclamation, and drew up a Petition containing in Subſtance, That whereas I had engaged with the Parliament on the behalf of the Common-

wealth,

wealth, and had diſcharged the Truſt repoſed in me with as much Tenderneſs to thoſe of the contrary Party as my Fidelity to the Parliament would permit, Providence having order'd that the former Government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in this Nation, I thought it my Duty as a Member of the Commonwealth, to declare my Reſolution to ſubmit to the preſent Powers, that I might with the reſt of the good People of *England* enjoy the Benefit of their Protection. Having ſigned this Paper, and preſuming upon the Friendſhip of Mr. *Anneſley*, I ſent it to him by my Wife deſiring his Advice. But he being lately ſworn a Privy Counſellor, and with his Condition altering his Manners, when he had peruſed the Paper, he delivered it again to my Wife and ſaid, That the Lieutenant-General was very good at drawing Letters of Recommendation. My Wife told him, That what was contained in that Paper was as much as my Conſcience would give me leave to ſay; and received for Anſwer, That then I ſhould do better to ſay nothing; which was not altogether without Reaſon; for ſome of thoſe who had petitioned the Houſe, and not acknowledged themſelves guilty of a Fault, were for that Cauſe excepted, who otherwiſe, as Men thought, would not have been ſo treated.

There being ſome Relation between the Earl of *Ormond* and me, I directed my Wife to

to apply her ſelf to him on this occaſion. He received her with great Civilities, and made her large Promiſes, preſſing her with great Importunity to acquaint him, if I were in *England*. But ſhe deſired to be excuſed in that Particular, as a thing not proper to be communicated to any Perſon in ſuch a Conjuncture. In the mean time my Friend, whom I mentioned before, continued to adviſe that I ſhould not by any means render my ſelf, affirming that the Houſe of Lords would not fail to make ſome addition to the Exceptions, and that ſome of them had intimated that I was likely to be One. Being not a little ſurprized with this Information, tho' the Reaſons above-mentioned inclined me to ſurrender my ſelf, yet I was unwilling to expoſe my Life to the Fancies of ſuch an uncertain ſort of Men; and therefore by my direction, my Wife went to Sir *Harbottle Grimeſton*, and acquainted him with the ſtate of my Affairs, and the Doubts which I lay under, of which he ſeemed very ſenſible, communicating his Thoughts very freely to her, and telling her, That it was his Opinion the Lords would reſt ſatisfied with what had been done; but if they ſhould not, it would be the moſt horrid thing in the World, ſhould the Houſe of Commons agree with them in excepting any Man who had render'd himſelf: But withal acquainted her, That the Houſe was ſo compoſed, that no Man could undertake to tell what

what they would not do; adding, That he ſhould dine that day with Mr. *Hollis* and other leading Men of the Parliament, and that he would inform himſelf from them touching that Particular, of which he would then give her the beſt Advice he could. The time which he had fixed being come, my Wife went to him again, and was informed by him, That he had been with that Company he had mentioned to her, and had found them all to be of Opinion that the Houſe would never be guilty of ſo unworthy an Action; and therefore adviſed her to perſuade me to come in, giving her an Order under his Hand to ſecure me from any ſeizure in my way to him, and promiſing to ſpeak to the Serjeant at Arms to be moderate in his Demands of Caution for my Appearance. Under the favour of this Warrant I went to a Place where divers of my Friends were, in order to ſeal ſome Writings for ſettling my private Affairs, which was the principal Motive that had prevailed with me to render my ſelf; and having diſpatch'd that Buſineſs, I went to the Speaker's Chamber; who being not there, I took Mr. *James Herbert*, a Member of the Convention, with me to the Houſe of the Serjeant at Arms, where finding that he had received Orders from Sir *Harbottle Grimeſton* concerning me, Mr. *Herbert* gave his Word for my Appearance, till I ſhould procure Perſonal Security. This Engage-

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ment made me very uneaſie; for I thought my ſelf oblig'd, what-ever might become of me, to take care that Mr. *Herbert* might not ſuffer for his Friendſhip to me. But after two or three days I prevailed with the Serjeant to accept the Security I had provided: They were, my Unkle Colonel *Thomas Stradling*, who had been conſtantly of the King's Party; and by being engaged for ſome Debts of his Brother Sir *Edward Stradling*, had ruin'd his Fortune: The ſecond was Colonel *Edward Sutton*, one Knighted by the King ſince his Return, and who had no other Eſtate than in the Right of his Wife: The third was one Mr. *Etherington*, who had been Poſſeſſor of a conſiderable Eſtate; but for many Years paſt had not been worth any thing: The fourth was *Thomas Aſhton*, a Citizen of *London*, who had been my Taylor; but was now in the ſame Condition with Mr. *Etherington*. Colonel *Sutton* was Arreſted as he was coming to me, and by that means prevented; Mr. *Etherington* being furniſhed with a clean Band, Hat and Cloak, paſſed without diſpute; ſo did *Aſhton*, and of Colonel *Stradling* there was no colour to doubt. I gave the two firſt a little Mony, with which they were well pleaſed; and I was abundantly ſatisfied that this Buſineſs paſſed thus over.

When Sir *Harbottle Grimeſton* having reported to the Houſe that I had render'd my ſelf, and deſired to know their Pleaſure concerning

cerning me; ſome of my Friends moved that I might be continued in the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, which being put to the Queſtion, was accordingly order'd. Whilſt theſe things were doing, my Lady *Vane* told my Wife, that Mrs. *Monk* had ſaid, ſhe would go upon her Knees to the King, and beg that Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Lambert*, and Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, might die without Mercy; and one of my Friends who frequented the Court, aſſured me, he heard *Monk* ſaying to the King, That there was not a Man in the three Nations more violent againſt him, or more dangerous to his Intereſts than I was; to which the King made anſwer, That he had been otherwiſe informed by many of his Party, who had received Civilities from me in their Troubles. But that which made me moſt ſenſible of my Danger, was, that Secretary *Maurice*, with whom I had been acquainted for ſome time, not knowing that I had rendred my ſelf to the Speaker, told a Perſon whom he knew to be my Friend, That where-ever I was, I ſhould do well to be upon my Guard; for if I ſhould be taken, I was a dead Man.

Some Members of this Convention, who had engaged to do me all the good Offices they could, preſuming the Houſe would proceed forthwith to impoſe certain Fines upon thoſe of the late King's Judges who had rendred themſelves; and therefore deſiring to ſee a par-

a particular of my Eſtate, that they might know how to moderate my Fine when it ſhould be debated, I drew it up as well as I could at that diſtance from my Papers, and ſent it to them. And now my Friends ſuppoſing my Buſineſs to go on proſperouſly in the Houſe of Commons, began to apply themſelves to the Lords on my behalf, in Caſe they ſhould add any farther Exceptions to the Bill of Indemnity; and received Promiſes of Aſſiſtance from all they thought fit to ask, except only the Earl of *Northampton*; who ſaid to my Wive's Father, That I had been a great Enemy to the King: However, I made the beſt uſe I could of this time in ſettling my private Affairs; and my Brother *Kempſon* had prevail'd with my Lord *Broghil* to write to Sir *Charles Coote*, that my Stock might be delivered to him upon Security to be reſponſible where it ſhould be adjudged to belong. But *Coote* was ſo far from ſatisfying either his own Conſcience or the Lord *Broghil* in this matter, that fearing I might be in a Condition to call him to account for the Injuſtice he had done to me; he wrote a Letter to the King, in which having firſt inveyed againſt me as the moſt bitter of all his Enemies; he informed him, That dining with me one day at my Houſe, I had aſſured him, that *Cromwel* had not proceeded to Extremities againſt the late King, if I had not preſſed him, and almoſt forced him to that Reſolu-

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tion: And for Confirmation of the Truth of this, he desired that the Lord *Broghil*, who, he said, had dined with me the same day, might me interrogated. But when the King asked my Lord *Broghil* concerning this Business, he protested, he had not charged his Memory with any such thing; adding, That he thought it unbecoming a Man of Honour to remember any thing to the prejudice of a Gentleman who had spoken freely at his own Table.

The Army being not yet disbanded, the King thought convenient in some measure still to cajeole the Presbyterian party; and therefore Mr. *Richard Baxter*, and Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, were appointed to be his Chaplains in Ordinary. But he could not forbear, on some Occasions, to discover his Contempt of the Men of that Sort, particularly when Mr. *Case*, who thought he had deserved highly of the King, would have pressed with his usual freedom into his Presence; and being denied entrance, had sent in his Name, tho' in answer to his importunity he was admitted; yet by the Carriage of those who were present, and derided his Habit and unmannerly way of Approaching the King, he might easily perceive how disagreeable his Company was in that Place. Yet the King having demanded what he had to say, he told him he had a Word of Advice to his Majesty; and going on to perswade him to a Care of his Party, he was

interrupted

interrupted by the King, who ſaid he did not remember that he had made him one of his Council. However, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Roberts*, and Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, were ſworn of his Privy Council; and the Earl of *Manchester* made Chamberlain of the Houſhold. But *Monk*, for a Reward of his Treachery to thoſe who had entruſted him, not only received the Garter, but was continued to be General of all the Forces; and obtained the Parchment Honour of Duke of *Albermarle*, with divers Penſions and Lands of great Value. To theſe Favours was added the Charge of Maſter of the Horſe, which by the Induſtry of his Wife, who having been an Exchange-woman knew how to drive a Bargain, was by the Sale of Places improved to the utmoſt Advantage.

Having acquainted thoſe who had anſwered for my Appearance at the time when they entred into that Obligation, of my Intentions to withdraw my ſelf, if I ſhould find my Life in danger; I took care at all times when the Houſe was ſitting, leaſt I ſhould be ſurprized and ſeized by an Order from them, to cauſe the Gates of my Houſe, which were divers, to be well guarded; and for the moſt part retired to ſome other place during that time. When the Houſe was up, I uſed to take more Liberty, having daily Advice from ſome Members of what had paſſed among them.

The Bill of Indemnity being brought to the Lords, a great Contention aroſe concerning the number of Perſons to be excepted; the Widow of Dr. *Hewet*, with Mrs. *Penruddock*, and divers others ſolliciting them with ſuch importunity for particular Satisfaction, on account of their Relations who had been put to death, that they found themſelves oblig'd to appoint a Committee to hear their Demands. The Lords alſo were inclined to Revenge their own Order on the Perſons of ſome in the High Court of Juſtice, by whom ſome of their Number had been Condemn'd, and to except one of the Judges for every Lord they had put to death; the Nomination of the Perſon to be excepted being referred to that Lord who was moſt nearly related to the Perſon that had ſuffered. According to this Rule, Colonel *Croxton* was nominated by the next Relation to the Earl of *Derby*, Major *Waring* by the Kinſman of another, and Colonel *Titchburn* by a third: The Earl of *Denbigh*, whoſe Siſter had been married to the Duke of *Hamilton*, being deſired by the Lords to nominate one to be excepted, in Satisfaction for the death of his Brother-in-Law, named a Perſon who had been ſome time dead, of which ſome of the Houſe being inform'd, they called upon him to name another; but he ſaid, That ſince it had ſo fallen out, he deſired to be excuſed from naming any more. This Action, tho' ſeeming

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to proceed from Chance, was generally eſteemed to have been voluntary, the Earl of *Denbigh* being known to be a generous Man, and a lover of his Country.

And now the Royal Party, in the Houſe of Lords, began to diſcover their Intentions to except all the King's Judges from the Benefit of the Indemnity, which was communicated to me by Sir *John Winter*, Secretary to the Queen-Mother, in a Viſit he made me at my Houſe: He alſo inform'd me, that Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and the Marquis of *Argyle*, had been ſeized and ſent to the *Tower* by the King's Order. In concluſion, he ſaid, That whilſt the King was treating with *Monk* about his Reſtitution, and conſidering that I was then at the Head of the Parliament's Forces in *Ireland*, he had acquainted him, that he had no greater difficulty to encounter than how to prevent me from obſtructing the Deſign; and that he would have given me any Conditions, to have been aſſured of my Service: From all which Conſiderations, he adviſed me rather to withdraw my ſelf, than to ſubmit to the Mercy of my Enemies.

Colonel *Ingoldsby* on account of his Service, in the Suppreſſion of the Party that had follow'd Major General *Lambert*, was not accepted from the Act; nor Colonel *Hutchinſon*, though he had bin as Zealous againſt the late King, at the time of his Tryal, as any other

of his Judges. But having joyned with *Monk* in his treacherous Deſign, he had obtained a Pardon from the King, whilſt he was beyond Sea. It was agreed in the Houſe, That Colonel *Adrian Scroop* and Colonel *Laſſels* ſhould have the benefit of the Act, paying one Years value of their Eſtates. Major *Liſter* was not inſerted, as was ſuppoſed, by the Credit and Intereſt of Mr. *William Pierrepoint*; and Colonel *Thomlinſon* was excuſed upon information given to the Houſe by Mr. *Seymour*, that the late King, when he waited on him a Day or two before he Suffered, ſignified to him his Pleaſure, that the Colonel ſhould receive Favour on account of his civil Carriage to him, during his Confinement. But the Son would not think this to be ſufficient for his Exemption; declaring to ſome about him, that he ought of all Men to be excepted, becauſe he had an Opportunity, and a fair offer to let his Father Eſcape, which he refuſed. On this ground the Earl of *Litchfield* moved for his Exception: But the Earl of *Briſtol* being engaged for *Thomlinſon*, and preſuming to be better acquainted with the King's Intentions, undertook to reprove the Earl of *Litchfield* ſo ſharply, that the Diſpute had almoſt ended in a Quarrel.

Theſe Conteſtations and Delays in finiſhing the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, made the People not only murmur, but begin to doubt, that nothing of that Nature would be

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paſſed for their Security; eſpecially, after the Earl of *Briſtol* had made a Speech in the Houſe of Lords, which according to his manner of Oſtentation he cauſed to be Printed; where after much boaſting of his important Employments abroad, he deſired that the Act might paſs with the Exception only of thoſe who had a Hand in the death of the King, who, he moved, might be more particularly deſcribed in another Bill to be drawn for that purpoſe. By which no Man could know whether he intended not, that not only his Judges and the Members who ſate after the Year 1648. with thoſe who petitioned for Juſtice againſt him, but even all thoſe who had in any way contributed to make War for the Parliament ſhould be excepted. But the Court having not yet disbanded the Army, would not venture too far in irritating the People; and therefore preſſed that the Bill might be haſtned to a Concluſion.

Great Endeavours were uſed by the Friends of thoſe who had been excepted in the Houſe of Commons, to procure them to be omitted by the Lords: And the Earl of *Litchfield* ſoliciting the Lord *Sturton* for his Vote in the behalf of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, received his Promiſe to that effect, on condition he would engage to be for me on the like Occaſion. Of this the Lord *Sturton* informed me in a Viſit he and his Lady were pleaſed to make me in that Conjuncture.

Having obſerved which way the Lords inclined, I drew up the State of the Caſe, as well as I could, of thoſe who had rendred themſelves upon the Proclamation, accompanied with ſuch Reaſons as then occurr'd to my Thoughts, why the Houſe of Commons ſhould not agree to any Enlargement of the Exceptions made by them: This Paper I deſign'd for the Preſs; but having ſent it to Mr. *Henry Martin* for his Opinion, he returned for anſwer, That unleſs my Name were ſubſcribed, the Houſe of Lords would not fail to call it a Libel; and therefore adviſed that it ſhould be preſented in the form of a Petition, upon which I laid it aſide.

Divers Meſſages were ſent from *Whitehall* by *Hyde* and others to the Lords, for the diſpatch of the Bill; but meeting with little ſucceſs, by reaſon of many Obſtructions that were continually laid in the way, the King came in Perſon to the Houſe, and preſſed them to Expedition, thanking the Lords for excepting thoſe who had been the Judges of the King his Father; *Who,* he ſaid, *were guilty of ſuch a Crime, that they could not Pardon themſelves, much leſs expect it from others.* By which he not only manifeſted his own revengeful Temper, and the little regard he had to the Promiſe he had made in his Proclamation from *Breda,* to refer himſelf wholly to the Parliament for Pardoning what had been done during the late Troubles; but his

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Imprudence in this ſo early Violation of the Privileges of the Parliament, by taking notice of what was depending in the two Houſes, before it came to be judicially preſented to him; and by that means fomenting a Diviſion between them concerning an Affair in which he himſelf was principally intereſted. He told them, *Other ways might be found to meet with thoſe who were of turbulent and factious Spirits*; inſinuating, if I miſtake not, that his Intentions were not to be guided by the Direction of the Laws, but that he had ſome ſecret Reſerves to render the Act of Indemnity inſignificant; concluding with deſires, that they would be careful to make Proviſion for his Iriſh Subjects, who had manifeſted great Affection to him during his Exile; expreſſing the ſame Zeal in the latter part of his Speech for the bloody Iriſh Rebels, as he had done in the former, againſt thoſe who had dared to defend the Liberties of *England*. And by this means the Iriſh grew immediately to that Confidence, that one *Fitz-harris* publickly affirmed in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, That they were the beſt Subjects the King had; and for that reaſon ſhould be ſoon reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of their Lands; of which the Houſe being informed, they committed him to the *Gate-houſe*; but after two days, he was by the Prevalency of the Court Faction diſcharged from his Impriſonment.

The King, who had not only an inclination to re-eſtabliſh the Iriſh in their Eſtates, but had by a Treaty formerly made with them, obliged himſelf to that Condition, found no ſmall difficulty to carry fair with thoſe of the Army, who were concerned in the confiſcated Lands. He was not willing to ſend any one into that Government, who ſhould be ungrateful to the Iriſh; and durſt not employ ſuch as he and they deſired, for fear of the Engliſh: For an Expedient therefore, it was propoſed that the Lord *Roberts* ſhould be ſent as Deputy to *Monk*, who when he contracted to ſell his Maſters, had deſired the Lieutenancy of *Ireland* for himſelf: But being told, that if he would have that Employment, he muſt go over and execute it in his own Perſon; he thought not convenient to accept it on thoſe Terms, apprehending that it would be no hard matter to Supplant and Ruin him in his Abſence. However, the Lord *Roberts* had the Title of Deputy, and was addreſſed by that Name; but finding he had only ſerved for a preſent Occaſion, he deſired to be re-called from that Employment.

Finding my Friends to grow every day more apprehenſive of the Dangers that threatned me, I removed from my Houſe; and on this Occaſion received a Signal Teſtimony of the Friendſhip of Chief Juſtice *Coke*, who being little Sollicitous for himſelf, ſolemnly proteſted

teſted in a Meſſage he ſent me, That if he were in no hazard on this Occaſion, he would willingly lay down his Life to ſecure mine, who, he was pleaſed to ſay, might be more uſeful to the Publick, than he could hope to be.

The Earl of *Antrim*, an Iriſh Papiſt, and principally concerned in the Rebellion of that Country, had been ſeized at the ſame time with the Marquis of *Argyle*, tho' for a different Reaſon; the latter for his Services in the Cauſe of Liberty and Religion, the former for unſeaſonably affirming, That the Iriſh were authorized by the late King to act as they had done. Both theſe Lords coming to *London* to Congratulate the Reſtitution of the King, were ſent to the *Tower*; The Laird of *Swintown* was alſo made Priſoner, and ſent in Cuſtody to the ſame Place. The cauſe of his ſeizure was at firſt reported to be for deſigning to Stab the King, as he was pretending to Cure the Diſeaſe called the King's Evil: But afterwards they changed their Language, and gave out that it was for deſerting the *Scots* after the Battle of *Dunbar*, and rendring himſelf to *Oliver Cromwell*. Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* were alſo ſeized, under the pretext that they had endeavoured to perſuade divers Officers of the Army to form a Party in order to oppoſe the preſent Power. But this ſoon appeared to be a Fiction, and that the deſign was to take away their lives by any means; the King, when he heard they

they were in Cuſtody, offering to lay a Wager they ſhould not eſcape. Colonel *Axtel*, who had behaved himſelf honeſtly and bravely in the Service of the Common-wealth, was about the ſame time trapann'd by a Cavalier, under pretence of treating with him for the Purchaſe of ſome Lands, and ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*.

The Lords being preſſed, as I mention'd before, to diſpatch the Act of Indemnity, came at laſt to this Reſult, touching the twenty Perſons propoſed by the Commons to be excepted from all other Benefit of the Act, except only as to Life, That Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Major General *Lambert*, and Colonel *Axtel*, ſhould be excepted both as to Life and Eſtate; the other ſixteen to be made uncapable of any Office or Employment in Church or State. The News of this Reſolution being carried to the King by the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and *Monk*, he openly expreſſed his Joy; and when they told him, that the Chief Juſtice St. *John's* had narrowly eſcaped, he wiſh'd he had been added alſo; of which Particulars I received Information by a Perſon of Honour then preſent, immediately after they had parted.

The next thing to be conſidered, was how to treat thoſe of the late King's Judges who had rendred themſelves upon the Proclamation, which held no long Debate; thoſe who were

were inclined to do that which was juſt, decent and reaſonable, being far the leſſer number: Yet the Earl of *Southampton* had the Courage to move, That ſince it was not thought fit to ſecure the lives of thoſe who had been induced to ſurrender their Perſons upon the Faith of the Proclamation, they ought at leaſt to give them the like number of days for ſaving themſelves, as were appointed by that Paper for their coming in: But *Finch*, who had formerly fled from the Juſtice of the Parliament, oppoſed that motion, and ſaid, That by ſuch means they might be enabled to do more Miſchief (as he knew had happened in his own Caſe): Upon this, Mr. *Thomas Challoner*, with thoſe of the Judges who had rendred themſelves, were put into the Exception for Life and Eſtate; Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Mr. *Robert Wallop*, the Lord *Mounſon*, Sir *James Harrington*, Mr. *James Challoner*, and Mr. *John Phelps*, were excepted from receiving any Benefit of their Eſtates, and ſubjected to ſuch farther Puniſhments as ſhould be inflicted upon them, their Lives only to be preſerved: Colonel *Hacker* who was one of thoſe to whom the Warrant of the High Court of Juſtice, for the Execution of the King had been directed, together with Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and the two Perſons who were in Mask upon the Scaffold when he was Beheaded, were excepted by the Lords both for Life and Eſtate.

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The Bill with theſe Alterations being ſent down to the Houſe of Commons for their Concurrence, ſeemed unwilling to Sacrifice thoſe, who upon Invitation and Promiſe of Favour, had rendred themſelves; and therefore refuſed to conſent to the Exception of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Major General *Lambert* from the Benefit of the Act as to their Lives; ſome of them ſaying in the Houſe, That thoſe Gentlemen having had no immediate Hand in the death of the King, there was as much Reaſon to except moſt of themſelves. Yet they agreed to except Colonel *Daniel Axtel*, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and the reſt as deſired. And to ſhew their readineſs to gratify the Revenge of thoſe at the Helm with the Blood of as many as they could find any Colour to abandon; being inform'd that Mr. *John Carew*, who had not at all conceal'd himſelf, had been ſeized by a Warrant from a Juſtice of the Peace; that his Name being miſtaken in the Warrant, and the Officer refuſing to detain him till that Error ſhould be amended, Mr. *Carew* had told him that he was, as he conceiv'd, the Perſon deſigned to be ſeized, and therefore acquainted him with the Place to which he was going; yet for all this (tho' happening within the fourteen days limited by the Proclamation, and on the way to *London*, where ſuch Perſons were directed to render themſelves) the major part of the Houſe of Commons voted this not to be

be a Surrender, and excepted him both in Life and Eſtate. Mr. *Gregory Clement* being already a Priſoner in the *Tower*, was put into the ſame Condition: And Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, tho' he had rendred himſelf within the time limited by the Proclamation, and tho' the Commons had declared themſelves contented with the Forfeiture of a Years Value of his Eſtate; yet upon information from that Renegado *Brown*, of ſome private diſcourſe between them, in which the Colonel, as he ſaid, had juſtified the part he had in doing Juſtice upon the late King; they condemn'd him without a Hearing, and added him to the Exception both in reſpect to Life and Eſtate: An Action of ſuch a Nature, that I ſhall forbear to give it the Name it deſerves. But the King not ſatisfied with theſe Sacrifices, greedy of Revenge, and forgetting his Meſſage from *Breda*, encouraged his Creatures in the Houſe of Lords to inſiſt upon their Exceptions; but the Commons being averſe to break the publick Faith in every particular, a Conference of both Houſes was appointed; in which ſome of the lower Houſe preſſing the Promiſe of the Proclamation, the Chancellor preſumed to affirm, That the Proclamation was only in the Nature of a *Subpœna*: But the Commons were not ſatisfied with this Definition.

Having received Advice from divers Perſons of Honour, That the Court was enrag-

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ed that I had not been excepted, and that *Robinson*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, had declared his Reſolution to move the Houſe that their Priſoners in the Serjeant's Cuſtody might be committed to the *Tower*, my Servants having alſo acquainted me that the Serjeant had endeavoured to inform himſelf if I continued ſtill at my Houſe, I reſolved not to appear any more in Publick; and having the offer of a Houſe near *Richmond* for my Retirement I went down thither, where I paſſed ſome days very quietly, and had the advantage of walking in the Park. Having one day made an Excurſion as far as Major General *Lambert*'s Houſe at *Wimbleton*, I perceived Words to this effect written on the out-ſide of a Banqueting-houſe, *The way to ruin Enemies, is to divide their Councils*; which Leſſon had he practiſed, the Confuſions brought upon the Nation had poſſibly been avoided.

During theſe Conteſts between the two Houſes, touching the Exceptions to be made, Sir *John Bourchier*, who had been one of the King's Judges, and had rendred himſelf within the time limited by the Proclamation, being of a great Age and very Infirm, was permitted to lodge at a private Houſe belonging to one of his Daughters. In this place he was ſeiz'd with ſo dangerous a Fit of Illneſs, that thoſe about him who were his neareſt Relations, deſparing of his Recovery; and preſuming that an Acknowledgment from him

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of his Sorrow, for the part he had in the Condemnation of the King, might tend to procure ſome Favour to them from thoſe in Power, they earneſtly preſſed him to give them that Satisfaction. But he being highly diſpleaſed with their Requeſt, roſe ſuddenly from his Chair, which for ſome days he had not been able to do without Aſſiſtance; and receiving freſh Vigour from the Memory of that Action, ſaid, I tell you, It was a juſt Act; God, and all good Men will own it. And having thus expreſſed himſelf, he ſate down again, and ſoon after quietly ended his Life.

The Court Party among the Commons, tho' they could not bring the Houſe to an intire Violation of the publick Faith; yet ſo far prevailed that they conſented to ſacrifice the Eſtate and Liberty of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*; and that Sir *Henry Vane*, with Major General *Lambert* ſhould be excepted both for Life and Eſtate, with this Reſerve, That if upon Tryal they ſhall be found Guilty, the two Houſes then to join in a Petition to the King for the Pardon of their Lives. But the Lords finding they could not bring the Commons to a full Compliance in the matter of Exceptions, deſired another Conference; which being agreed, the Chancellor, after he had endeavoured to perſuade them, that the difference between the two Houſes was rather in Form than Subſtance, offer'd for an Expedient, that no Sentence to be pronounced againſt

gainſt any of thoſe that had been added by the Lords, ſhould be executed otherwiſe than by Act of Parliament; telling them he aſſured himſelf they would accept this Propoſition, and hoped alſo that none of the King's Judges, who after their ſurrender, might withdraw themſelves from their Protection, ſhould participate of this Favour; which laſt Clauſe I took to be particularly levell'd at me, having been informed that the Serjeant's Deputy attended with Souldiers, had very lately ſearched my Houſe.

At laſt the Commons, partly from Inclination and partly for their own Safety, conſented to paſs the Alterations as they had been made by the Lords; (or rather by the King) which Buſineſs being over, the Houſe order'd the Serjeant at Arms to deliver thoſe of the King's Judges who were in his Cuſtody, into the Hands of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*. They were Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, Mr. *William Heveningham*, Mr. *George Fleetwood*, Colonel *James Temple*, Mr. *Peter Temple*, Mr. *Henry Smith*, Mr. *Simon Mayne*, Colonel *Thomas Wyte*, Colonel *John Downs*, Colonel *Vincent Potter*, Mr. *Henry Martin*, Colonel *Edmund Harvey*, Alderman *Iſaac Pennington*, Mr. *Gilbert Millington*, Colonel *Robert Lilborn*, Mr. *Auguſtin Garland*, and Colonel *Owen Roe*. Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, who had been in *France*, return'd to *England* upon the Proclamation and rendred himſelf; but finding

finding his Surrender not like to anſwer his Expectation, he had withdrawn together with Alderman *Titchburn* from the Serjeant at Arms; yet upon farther Conſideration, they both came in. So that when by Order of the Houſe, the Serjeant was called to give an account of his Priſoners, and had acquainted them that I was not to be found, a Motion was made to add my Name to thoſe who were excepted both for Life and Eſtate: But one Mr. *Swanton* a Member of this Houſe, and my Country-man, moving, that before they ſhould proceed to Extremities, they would examine the Bond I had given for my Appearance, to ſee if I had broken the Condition; they let it drop for that time, hoping that by this ſeeming Gentleneſs I might be perſuaded to ſubmit.

Information of theſe things being ſent to me by the above-mention'd Mr. *Swanton* and Colonel *Henley*, who was alſo a Member, I repair'd privately to *London*, in order to conſult with ſome Friends touching the courſe I ſhould take in this Conjuncture. Upon which my Wife went to Sir *Harbottle Grimeſton*, then Speaker of the Houſe; and finding him ſtill to perſiſt in his Advice for my Surrender, ſhe took the liberty to ſay, That ſhe apprehended great danger in that Counſel; becauſe ſhe thought thoſe, who to gratifie the Court, had already ſo far receeded from their own Reſolutions, and permitted that Perſons who

had rendred themſelves upon the faith of the late Proclamation, ſhould be excepted both as to Life and Eſtate, tho' with the Limitation mentioned, might juſtly be ſuſpected of being capable to be drawn yet farther; and to conſent, that after they ſhould be declared Guilty, an Act might paſs for putting the Sentence in Execution. But tho' it were ſuppoſed that this Houſe would never be induced to ſuch an Action; yet they might be diſſolved, and the Perſons excepted kept in Priſon, till ſuch ſhould be procured to ſit in that Place who would not be ſo ſcrupulous; eſpecially ſince it was viſible that the Clauſe of Limitation was ſo doubtful, that it might afford a Pretence for interpreting it to be intended not only of this, but of any Parliament that ſhould think fit to uſe their Power againſt the Perſons excepted. The Speaker ſeemed much offended with this diſcourſe; and going down the ſtairs with her, told her he would waſh his Hands of my Blood, by aſſuring her, That if I would ſurrender my ſelf, my life would be as ſafe as his own; but if I refuſed to hearken to his Advice, and ſhould happen to be ſeized, I was like to be the firſt Man they would execute, and ſhe to be left the pooreſt Widow in *England*. But another of my Friends who was well acquainted with the Deſigns of the Court, and had all along adviſed me not to truſt their Favour; now repeated his Perſuaſions to withdraw

draw out of *England*, assuring, that if I staid I was lost; and that the same fate attended Sir *Henry Vane* and others, notwithstanding all Engagements to the contrary. He added, that there was a design on foot to seize the Estates of all those who had been Out-law'd in the late King's time, of which number my Father having been one, it would be difficult for me to escape Ruin on that account. The Advice of my Friend whom I had always found to be intirely sincere, and knew to be well inform'd of Affairs, was of great weight to induce me to resolve upon departing from *England*; in which Resolution I was confirmed by the friendly Counsel of the Lord *Offery*, eldest Son to the Marquiss of *Ormond*, who with divers others that had observed the Inconstancy and Irresolution, to say no worse, of those in the House of Commons in Sacrificing Mr. *Carew* and Colonel *Scroop* to the Revenge of the Enemy, concurr'd in giving the same Advice.

The time appointed for my departure from *England* being come, after I had settled my Affairs in the best manner I could, and taken leave of my dearest Friends and Relations, I went into a Coach about the close of the day, and passing through the City over *London-Bridge* to St. *George*'s Church in *Southwark*, I found a Person ready to receive me with two Horses, one of which I mounted and began my Journey. My Guide was so well

acquainted with the Country, that we avoided all the conſiderable Towns on the Road, where we ſuſpected any Souldiers might be Quartered; and the next Morning by break of day we arrived at *Lewis* without Interruption. On the *Tueſday* following, a ſmall Veſſel being prepared for my Tranſportation, I went on board; but the Wind blowing hard and the Veſſel having no Deck, I removed into another that had been provided for me by a Merchant of *Lewis*, and was ſtruck upon the Sands as ſhe was falling down to receive me. This Veſſel had carried over Mr. *Richard Cromwel* ſome Weeks before, and lay very commodiouſly for my Safety on that Occaſion; for after I had enter'd into Her to ſecure my ſelf from the Weather, till I might put to Sea in the other, the Searchers came on board my ſmall Veſſel to ſee what ſhe carried, omitting to ſearch that in which I was, not ſuſpecting any Perſon or Thing to be in her, becauſe ſhe was ſtruck upon the Sands. But the Storm ſtill continuing, and the Men thinking not fit to put to Sea, we continued in the Harbour all that day and the night following; The Maſter, who had uſed the Ports of *Ireland* whilſt I had been in that Country, among other things, enquiring if Lieutenant General *Ludlow* were not impriſoned with the reſt of the King's Judges; to which I anſwer'd, That I had not heard of any ſuch thing.

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The next Morning we ſet Sail, and had the Wind ſo favourable, that we arrived in the Harbour of *Diepe* that Evening before the Gates were ſhut; where going aſhore I was conducted by the Maſter, to the Houſe of one Madame *de Caux* to whom I was recommended, where I was received with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Civility; the Gentlewoman leaving it to my Choice either to continue at her Habitation in *Diepe*, or to go to her Houſe in the Country; which laſt I choſe to do, as well that I might enjoy the liberty of taking the Air, as to avoid the Iriſh who were in great numbers in the Town, and who probably might have ſeen me in *Ireland* when I ſerved the Parliament. I had not been many days in this Place, when I received Letters from *England* with a Printed Proclamation incloſed, taking notice that I had withdrawn my ſelf from the Officer's Cuſtody, forbidding any Perſon to receive or entertain me under pain of High Diſpleaſure; requiring all Perſons to ſeize and ſecure my Perſon, and propoſing the Sum of three Hundred Pounds as a Reward for thoſe who ſhould perform this Service. Theſe Letters accompanied with the earneſt Deſires of my Friends for my removal to ſome Place more diſtant from *England*, obliged me to think of leaving that Place; and accordingly having prepared my ſelf for my Journey, and taking leave of the good Family where I had been

ſo kindly received and entertain'd, I ſet forward for *Geneva*, and paſſing by *Rouen*, a place of great Trade and the Seat of one of the French Parliaments, I arrived in three Days at *Paris*. In this Town I viewed ſuch things as were accounted remarkable, paſſing ſeveral Days in this Exerciſe. The *Louvre* ſeemed to me rather like a Garriſon than a Court, being very full of Soldiers and Dirt. I ſaw the King's Stable of Horſes, which tho not extraordinarily furniſhed, gave me more Pleaſure than I ſhould have received by ſeeing their Maſter, who thinks fit to treat them better than his miſerable People. But I loathed to ſee ſuch numbers of idle Drones, who in ridiculous Habits, wherein they place a great part of their Religion, are to be ſeen in every part, eating the Bread of the credulous Multitude, and leaving them to be diſtinguiſhed from the Inhabitants of other Countries by thin Cheeks, Canvaſs Clothing and Wooden-Shoes.

Having made what ſtay I thought neceſſary in *Paris*, and taken Bills of Exchange for *Geneva*, I departed for *Lyons* in the Company of a *German* Lord, from whom I received great Civilities during the Journey. Being arrived at *Lyons*, tho the reſt of the Company were examined, and obliged to give in their Names; yet, by I know not what Accident, none of the Officers asked me any Queſtion of that nature, but permitted me to go quietly to

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the Inn that had been taken up for us, where we were no ſooner enter'd, when divers Fryars of different Orders crowded in to beg or rather command ſomething; one of theſe behaving himſelf in ſo lewd a manner, to a Youth who came in our Company from *Paris*, as obliged me to ſhew my Reſentment of his Impudence. The next Day after my arrival at *Lyons*, I ſet forward for *Geneva*, continuing my Journey without interruption, till I came to the *Recluſe*, about ſix Leagues diſtant from that City, where the King of France maintains a Garriſon, becauſe it lies upon his Frontier. Here I was informed they would examin us ſtrictly, and oblige us to lodge our Arms with them; but they only deſired Mony to Drink, which I willingly gave. The ſame Day I paſſed the River *Rhoſne*, and underſtood that I was then within the Territories of *Geneva*, which was no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, hoping I might enjoy ſome meaſure of quiet in that free City, and perhaps the Society of ſome of my Friends and Countrymen; divers of whom I knew had been neceſſitated to retire into Forreign Parts.

At *Geneva* I took up my Lodgings in the Houſe of one Monſieur *Perrot*, who having ſerved in the Army of the Parliament underſtood the Engliſh Tongue; and having heard that Mr. *William Cawley* an able and antient Member of Parliament had paſſed through part of *France*, I hoped to find him in this place;

but upon inquiry, I was informed, That there were no Engliſh Men in the Town, except one Mr. *Felton* and his Servant. In the Houſe where I lodged, the Miſtreſs being an Engliſh Woman, I found good Beer, which was a great refreſhment to me, after the fatigue of my Journey, and conſtant uſe of Wines, by which my Body had been much diſtempered with Rheums. The next Day after my arrival, I received a Bill of Exchange, incloſed in a Letter from Monſieur *Marga*, a Banker of *Paris*, for ſix hundred Crowns, payable by a Merchant of *Geneva*; but having a conſiderable Sum remaining, of the Stock I brought with me from *London*, and received no Advice of that Supply, I writ to Monſieur *Marga*, to keep the Mony in his Hands till I ſhould receive Letters from my Friends.

I had not been here many Days, before I was informed, That various Reports had been raiſed, in *England*, concerning me; ſome ſaying that I had been taken as I was endeavouring to make my Eſcape in a Diſguiſe; others, That upon notice given that I was concealed at the Houſe of a Country-man, ſome Perſons coming to ſeize me, and offering Mony to that purpoſe, the Man of the Houſe refuſing the offer, had cauſed me to be conveyed from thence by a private way. Theſe things being believed by many, ſerved to amuſe my Enemies, who ſuſpected me to be ſtill in *England*, and doubting the Fidelity of the Army, doubled

doubled their Diligence to find me out. But my Friends and Relations being adviſed of my retirement, were not at all diſturbed at their Proceedings.

The Convention before their Adjournment, had referred to the King the things in Diſpute between the Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Parties, who in proſecution of their Deſires, required them to conſider, how far each Party could condeſcend for mutual Accommodation. The Presbyterians finding the Tyde to be againſt them, agreed with the Biſhops in many particulars, deſiring only to be diſpenſed with in wearing the Surplice, reading ſome parts of the Liturgy and uſing ſome Ceremonies; on which Conditions they promiſed to ſubject themſelves to the Biſhops, as Superintendents of the Church, if ſome Miniſters might be joyned with them in the Act of Ordination. Theſe Propoſitions and Condeſcentions being communicated to the Biſhops, and thoſe of the Biſhops to the Presbyterians, it was ſoon perceived, by diſcerning Men, that theſe two Competitors for Eccleſiaſtical Power and Riches, would not be eaſily brought to agree. However, the King thinking fit to temporiſe, as long as the Army was on foot, appointed a Conference between the diſagreeing Parties, at which he was preſent in Perſon; where tho the Biſhops appeared as inflexible as before, yet the King, for the Reaſon abovementioned, thought convenient

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to Publiſh a Declaration, forbidding the Liturgy, Surplice and ſome Ceremonies, to be impoſed upon thoſe who ſhould be unwilling to uſe them. Which ſhew of Moderation took ſo much with the Presbyterians, who were ready to ſtretch their Conſciences to the utmoſt, that they preſented their humble Thanks to him for this Favour. The like method was obſerved to lay thoſe aſleep who had purchaſed the Church-lands, and who promiſed themſelves full ſatisfaction, according to the Meſſage from *Breda*; Commiſſioners being appointed to that end. But after they had Sate once or twice, and heard bitter Invectives againſt the late Sales, as Sacrilegious, the Purchaſers finding them for the moſt part to be of the ſame Opinion, were quite diſcouraged from any farther proſecution of that Matter.

In the mean time the Buſineſs of the Country Gentlemen who were Members of this Convention, was, during their Adjournment, to be aſſiſting in the raiſing thoſe great Sums of Mony they had laid upon the People; for the Payment of which, the intended disbanding of the Army afforded a moſt plauſible Pretence, that the Laws, as they ſaid, might run in their proper Channel, without impediment or controll: But indeed that the Men in Power might deliver themſelves from the fear of thoſe who had reduced the Government within its proper Channel, and that the

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Word of their King, with the aſſiſtance of an inconſiderate Party, might paſs for a Law without controll.

The firſt Letters I received from *England*, after my arrival at *Geneva*, informed me that Major General *Harriſon*, Mr. *John Carew*, Chief Juſtice *Coke*, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, Mr. *Gregory Clement*, Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, Colonel *John Jones*, Colonel *Francis Hacker* and Colonel *Daniel Axtel* being accuſed of having contributed in their ſeveral Stations, to the Death of the King, had been Condemned and Executed. This important Buſineſs had been delayed during the time that Mr. *Love* was to continue Sheriff of *London*, he being no way to be induced, either for Fear or Hopes, to permit Juries to be pack'd, in order to ſecond the Deſigns of the Court. But after new Sheriffs had been Choſen, more proper to ſerve the preſent Occaſion, a Commiſſion for hearing and determining this Matter, was directed to Thirty four Perſons, of whom Fifteen had actually engaged for the Parliament, againſt the late King; either as Members of Parliament, Judges or Officers in their Army; moſt, if not all of them, the Lord Mayor excepted, having been put into Places of Truſt and Profit ſince the late Revolution.

Colonel *George Monk* being Commiſſionated to be of this number, was not aſhamed to ſit among them, any more than Mr. *Denzil Hollis*

lis and the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who having been two of the ſix Members deſigned by the late King for Deſtruction, before the beginning of the War, and therefore perſonally concerned in the Quarrel, had contributed the utmoſt of their endeavours to engage divers of the Gentlemen (upon whom they were now to ſit as Judges) on that ſide, were not contented to abandon them in this change, but aſſiſted in Condemning them to Dye for their Fidelity to that Cauſe, which themſelves had betrayed. Mr. *Arthur Anneſley* who had been alſo a Member of the Parliament, whilſt they made War againſt the King, was alſo one of this number. *Finch* who had been accuſed of High Treaſon twenty Years before, by a full Parliament, and who by flying from their Juſtice, had ſaved his Life, was appointed to judge ſome of thoſe who ſhould have been his Judges; and Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, who upon his ſubmiſſion to *Cromwel* had been permitted to practiſe the Law in a private manner, and under that colour had ſerved both as Spy and Agent for his Maſter, was entruſted with the principal management of this tragical Scene; and in his Charge to the Grand Jury, had the Aſſurance to tell them, *That no Authority, no ſingle Perſon, or community of Men; not the People Collectively or Repreſentatively, had any coercive Power over the King of* England. For Proof of which Aſſertion he cited *Spencers* Caſe in the time of *Edward*

Edward the II. And After-Ages may with as much Reaſon Cite the Proceedings of this Court for Precedents of the ſame kind.

All Things being prepared, and the Court aſſembled at the Seſſion-houſe in the *Old Bailey*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Major General *Harriſon* and Mr. *Hevening ham* were order'd to be ſet to the Bar, where the Inditement being read, containing many ſtrange Expreſſions, it was contrived that Sir *Hardreſs Waller* (who was known to be a Man that would ſay any thing to ſave his Life, and was prepared to that purpoſe) ſhould be firſt demanded whether he were Guilty or not Guilty. Which being done, he after a little ſhifting, according to the expectation of the Bench, pleaded Guilty, taking the Blood which had been ſhed during his Employments in the Army upon his own Head. But when Major General *Harriſon* was required to Anſwer, he not only pleaded *not Guilty*, but juſtified the Sentence paſſed upon the King, and the Authority of thoſe who had Commiſſionated him to act as one of his Judges. He plainly told them, when Witneſſes were produced againſt him, that he came not thither with an intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to Light, owning his Name ſubſcribed to the Warrant for Executing the King, to be written by himſelf; charging divers of thoſe who ſate on the Bench, as his Judges, to have been formerly as active for the Cauſe, in which

which he had engaged, as himſelf or any other Perſon; affirming that he had not acted by any other Motive than the Principles of Conſcience and Juſtice; for proof of which he ſaid it was well known, he had choſen to be ſeparated from his Family, and to ſuffer a long Impriſonment, rather than to comply with thoſe who had abuſed the Power they had aſſumed to the oppreſſion of the People. He inſiſted that having done nothing, in relation to the Matter in queſtion, otherwiſe than by the Authority of the Parliament, he was not juſtly accountable, either to this or any other inferior Court; which being a Point of Law, he deſired to have Council aſſigned upon that Head; but the Court overruled; and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his defence, they clearly manifeſted a Reſolution of gratifying the Reſentments of the Court upon any Terms. So that a haſty Verdict was brought in againſt him, and the Queſtion being asked, if he had any thing to ſay, why Judgment ſhould not paſs, he only ſaid, That ſince the Court had refuſed to hear what was fit for him to Speak in his Defence, he had no more to ſay; upon which *Bridgman* pronounced the Sentence. And that the Inhumanity of theſe Men may the better appear, I muſt not omit, that the Executioner in an ugly Dreſs, with a Halter in his Hand, was placed near the Major General, and continued there

there during the whole time of his Tryal; which Action I doubt whether it was ever equall'd by the moſt barbarous Nations. But having learn'd to contemn ſuch Baſeneſs, after the Sentence had been pronounc'd againſt him, he ſaid aloud as he was withdrawing from the Court, That he had no Reaſon to be aſhamed of the Cauſe in which he had been engaged. This Sentence was ſo barbarouſly executed, that he was cut down alive, and ſaw his Bowels thrown into the Fire.

Mr. *John Carew* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Cornwall*, educated in one of the Univerſities, and at the Inns of Court. He had a plentiful Eſtate, and being choſen to ſerve in the Great Parliament, he was elected into the Council of State, and employ'd in many important Affairs; in which he ſhewed great Ability. He found the ſame uſage from the Court as Major General *Harriſon* had done, being frequently interrupted, and Council denied, tho' earneſtly deſired by him in that Point of Law touching the Authority by which he had acted: When he ſaw that all he could ſay was to no purpoſe, he frankly acknowledged that he ſate in the High Court of Juſtice, and had ſigned two Warrants, one for ſummoning the Court in order to the King's Tryal, and another for his Execution. Upon this the Court, who were well acquainted with the

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Diſpoſition of the Jury, permitting him to ſpeak, he ſaid, That in the Year 1640. a Parliament was called according to the Laws and Conſtitution of this Nation: That ſome Differences ariſing between the King and that Parliament, the King withdrew his Perſon from them; upon which the Lords and Commons declared ————Here the Court being Conſcious that their Cobweb-coverings were not ſufficient to keep out the Light of thoſe Truths he was going to produce, contrary to the Liberty they had promiſed, interrupted him, under colour that what he was about to ſay, tended not only to juſtifie the Action for which he was accuſed, but to caſt a Ball of Diviſion among thoſe who were preſent. But Mr. *Carew* going on to ſay, The Lords and Commons by their Declaration———— Judge *Foſter* interrupted him again, and told him he endeavour'd to revive thoſe Differences which he hoped were laid aſleep, and that he did ſo to blow the Trumpet of Sedition; demanding if he had ever heard, or could produce an Act of Parliament made by the Commons alone. To this he would have anſwered, but was not permitted to finiſh what he began to ſay, or hardly any one thing he endeavour'd to ſpeak in his Defence during the whole Tryal; Mr. *Arthur Anneſley* particularly charging him with the Excluſion of the Members in the Year 1648. of which number he had been one;

one ; to which he only replied, That it ſeemed ſtrange to find a Man who ſate as a Judge on the Bench to give Evidence as a Witneſs in the Court. Theſe irregular Proceedings unbecoming a Court of Judicature, obliged Mr. *Carew* to addreſs himſelf to the Jury, leaving them to judge of the Legality of his Tryal; and appealing to their Conſciences, whether he had been permitted to make his Defence. But they who were not to be diverted from the Reſolutions they had taken, without any regard to the manner of his Tryal, declared him Guilty as he was accuſed.

Colonel *Adrian Scroop* was accuſed for ſitting as one of the Judges in the High Court of Juſtice, when the King was brought to anſwer as a Priſoner at the Bar, for ſigning one Warrant for ſummoning that Court together, and another for the Execution of the King. He denied nothing of this, but pleaded the Authority of the Parliament in his Juſtification; denying that he had been acted by any Motive of Malice as the Inditement had untruly ſuggeſted; and aſſerting, that in what he had done relating to the King, he had follow'd the Light of his Reaſon and the Dictates of his Conſcience. At this Tryal the principal Witneſs was that *Brown*, who having been Major General in the Service of the Parliament, and mention'd already in this Work to be of a mercenary Spirit, was now

brought to betray a private Converſation; and to depoſe, that talking one day with Colonel *Adrian Scroop* in the Speaker's Chamber, and telling him that the Condition of the Nation was ſad ſince the Murther of the King, the Colonel had anſwer'd, That Men had different Opinions touching that Matter; and being deſired by the ſaid *Brown* to explain himſelf, he told him, he ſhould not make him his Confeſſor. Tho' this Evidence be in appearance very inſignificant; yet having influenced the Houſe of Commons, as I mention'd before, 'tis not to be admir'd if it took effect with a Jury in an inferiour Court, who taking every thing ſaid againſt the Perſon accuſed for ſubſtantial Proof, made no ſcruple of bringing him in Guilty of Treaſon.

Mr. *Thomas Scot* was on the ſame day brought to a Tryal, or rather to receive the Sentence of Condemnation: He was charged with ſitting in the High Court of Juſtice at the King's Tryal, with ſigning the two Warrants abovemention'd; and deſiring that the following Inſcription might be engraved upon his Monumument, *Here lies* Thomas Scot, *who adjudg'd the late King to die.* Divers Witneſſes were produced to prove theſe things; and among them Mr. *William Lenthal* Speaker to the Parliament, who, tho' when the King enter'd the Houſe of Commons, and had demanded of him the five Members, he knew how to anſwer, *That he had neither Ears to hear, Eyes to ſee, or Mouth*

Mouth to ſpeak except what the Houſe gave, could now appear as Evidence againſt Mr. *Scot* for Words ſpoken in Parliament, which he was conſcious to himſelf was a high breach of Privilege; acquainting the Court, that the Perſon accuſed, had juſtified in the Houſe the Proceedings againſt the King. Mr. *Scot* ſaid in his Defence, that whatever had been ſpoken in the Houſe ought not to be given in Evidence againſt him, not falling under the Cognizance of any Inferior Court, as all Men knew: That for what he had done in relation to the King, he had the Authority of the Parliament for his juſtification: That the Court had no right to declare whether that Authority were a Parliament or not; and being demanded to produce one Inſtance to ſhew that the Houſe of Commons was ever poſſeſs'd of ſuch an Authority, he aſſured them he could produce many. But having begun with the *Saxon* Times, he was interrupted by the Court, and told that the things of thoſe Ages were obſcure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that way, he took the liberty to tell them, That he could not ſee for what Reaſon it was not as lawful for that Houſe of Commons in which he had ſate as a Member, to make Laws, as for the preſent Convention which had been called by *the Authority of the Keepers of the Liberties of* England. I had the Authority of Parliament, the Legiſlative Authority to juſtifie

ſtifie me———Here the Court interrupted him; but having no Reaſons to give, *Finch* ſaid in a Paſſion, Sir, if you ſpeak to this purpoſe again, I profeſs for my own part I dare not hear any more: 'Tis a Doctrin ſo Poiſonous and Blaſphemous, that if you proceed upon this Point, I ſhall (and I hope my Lords will be of the ſame Opinion) deſire that the Jury may be immediately directed. Mr. *Scot* replied, My Lord, I thought you would rather have been my Council, as I think 'tis the Duty of your Place. But in this matter I am not alone, neither is it my ſingle Opinion: Even the ſecluded Members owned us to be a Parliament, elſe why did they, ſupported by an armed Force, intrude themſelves contrary to the Reſolutions of the Houſe, in order to procure the Major Vote for our Diſſolution? To which Mr. *Anneſley* anſwered, That if the ſecluded Members had not appeared in Parliament, and by that means put an end to all Pretences, the People had not ſo ſoon arrived at their Happineſs. Theſe, with many other things of equal force being ſaid by Mr. *Scot* in his Defence, rather to juſtifie himſelf to his Country, than from any Hopes of Conſideration from thoſe with whom he had to do; the Jury as directed, found him Guilty alſo.

Colonel *John Jones* and Mr. *Gregory Clement* finding all that had been ſaid in Vindication of the things objected againſt the Gentlemen

tlemen who had been already tried, to prove ineffectual, informed the Court that they could say no more than had been already alledged; and therefore confessed the Fact, upon which they were declared Guilty, as the Persons before mention'd had been.

On the Thirteenth of *November*, 1660. the Sentence which had been pronounced in consequence of the Verdict, was executed upon Major General *Harrison* at the place where *Charing Cross* formerly stood, that the King might have the pleasure of the Spectacle, and inure himself to Blood. On the Fifteenth, Mr. *John Carew* suffer'd there also, even their Enemies confessing that more steddiness of Mind, more contempt of Death, and more Magnanimity could not be expressed. To all who were present with them, either in Prison or at the Place where the Sentence was executed, they owned that having engaged in the Cause of God and their Country, they were not at all ashamed to suffer in the manner their Enemies thought fit, openly avowing the inward Satisfaction of their Minds when they reflected upon the Actions for which they had been condemned, not doubting the revival of the same Cause; and that a time should come when Men would have better Thoughts of their Persons and Proceedings.

Mr. *John Coke*, late Chief Justice of *Ireland*, had in his younger Years seen the best part of *Europe*; and at *Rome* had spoken with such

Liberty and Ability againſt the Corruptions of that Court and Church, that great Endeavours were uſed there to bring him into that Intereſt: But he being reſolved not to yield to their Sollicitations, thought it no longer ſafe to continue among them, and therefore departed to *Geneva* where he reſided ſome Months in the Houſe of Signior *Gio. Diodati*, Miniſter of the *Italian* Church in that City; after which he returned to *England* and applied himſelf to the Study of the Laws; and in that Profeſſion became ſo conſiderable, that he was appointed by the High Court of Juſtice to be their Sollicitor at the King's Tryal. I have already ſaid, that he was ſeized and impriſoned by Sir *Charles Coote*, who joining with *Monk* in his Treachery to the Commonwealth, ſent him over to *England*, that he might ſacrifice him to his new Maſter, in Satisfaction for the Blood of his Party which he himſelf had formerly ſhed. Being brought to his Tryal, he was accuſed of preferring, in the Name of all the good People of *England*, an Impeachment of High Treaſon to the High Court of Juſtice againſt the late King; That he had ſigned the ſaid Impeachment with his own Hand; That upon the King's demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, he had preſſed that the Charge might be taken for confeſſed; and therefore had demanded Judgment from the Court againſt the King: But this Inditement being more particularly

ticularly charged upon him in the three following Articles,

Firſt, That he, with others, had propounded, counſelled, contrived, and imagin'd the Death of the late King.

Secondly, That to bring about this Conſpiracy, he, with others, had aſſumed Authority and Power to accuſe, kill and murder the King.

Thirdly, That a Perſon unknown did cut off the King's Head; and that the Priſoner was abetting, aiding, aſſiſting, countenancing and procuring the ſaid Perſon ſo to do.

He anſwer'd, Firſt, That he could not be juſtly ſaid to have contriv'd or councelled the Death of the King, becauſe the Proclamation for the King's Tryal, even by the Confeſſion of his Accuſer, was publiſh'd on the Ninth of *January*, which was the day before he was appointed Sollicitor to the High Court of Juſtice. In the Second place, tho' the Court ſhould not admit that to be an Act of Parliament, which authorized him to do what he did; yet he aſſured himſelf they would allow it to be an Order, which was enough to juſtifie him. Thirdly, That he, who had neither been Accuſer, Witneſs, Jury, Judge, or Executioner, could not be Guilty of Treaſon in this Caſe. He urged, that having act-

ed only as Council, he was not anſwerable for the Juſtice or Injuſtice of the Cauſe he had manag'd; That being placed in that Station by a publick Command, it could not be ſaid he had acted Maliciouſly or with a wicked Intention, as the Inditement mention'd; That Words ſpoken do not amount to Treaſon, much leſs when ſet down in writing by the direction of others; eſpecially ſince no clear Proof had been produced, that his Name ſubſcribed to the Charge againſt the King was written by himſelf. He ſaid, that to pray and demand Juſtice, 'tho Injuſtice be done upon it, could not be Treaſon within the Statute; that when he demanded Juſtice, it might be meant of Acquittal as well as of Condemnation; and that if it ſhould be accounted Treaſon in a Councellor to plead againſt the King, it muſt alſo be Felony to plead againſt any Man who may be unjuſtly condemn'd for Felony; That the High Court of Juſtice, tho' now called Tyrannical and Unlawful, was yet a Court, had Officers attending them, and many think had Authority, there being then no other in this Nation than that which gave them their Power; and if this will not juſtifie a Man for acting within his own Sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exerciſe his Profeſſion unleſs he may be ſure of the Legality of the Eſtabliſhment under which he acts. Theſe and divers other things of no leſs weight

weight he ſaid in his Defence; but the Cabal thinking themſelves concern'd to prevent the like in time to come, and to terrify thoſe who were not only able but willing alſo to be employ'd in ſuch Service, procured from the Jury a Verdict of Condemnation againſt him according to their deſire.

The Charge againſt Mr. *Hugh Peters* was, for compaſſing and imagining the Death of the King, by conſpiring with *Oliver Cromwel* at ſeveral Times and Places, and procuring the Souldiers to demand Juſtice; by Preaching divers Sermons to perſuade the Souldiery to take off the King, comparing him to *Barabbas*, and applying part of a Pſalm where 'tis ſaid, *They ſhall bind their Kings in Chains*, &c. to the Proceedings againſt him; aſſuring them, that if they would look into their Bibles they ſhould find there, *That whoever ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed*; and that neither the King nor any other Perſon are excepted from this General Rule. He was alſo accuſed of ſaying, That the Levits, Lords and Lawyers muſt be taken away in order to eſtabliſh a Common-wealth; That the King was a Tyrant, and that the Office it ſelf was Chargeable, Uſeleſs, and Dangerous. Theſe, with other things of like Nature being ſworn againſt him, Mr. *Peters* ſaid in his Defence, That the War began before he came into *England*; That ſince his Arrival, he had endeavour'd to promote

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ſound Religion, the Reformation of Learning and the Law, and Employment of the Poor; That for the better effecting theſe Things he had eſpouſed the Intereſts of the Parliament, in which he had acted without Malice, Avarice or Ambition; and that whatever Prejudices or Paſſions might poſſeſs the Minds of Men, yet there was a God who knew theſe things to be true. It was not expected that any thing he could ſay ſhould ſave him from the Revenge of the Court, and therefore he was without Heſitation brought in Guilty. This Perſon had been a Miniſter in *England* for many Years, 'till he was forc'd to leave his Native Country by the Perſecution ſet on foot in the time of Arch-biſhop *Laud* againſt all thoſe who refuſed to comply with the Innovations and Superſtitions which were then introduced into the Publick Worſhip. He went firſt into *Holland*, and from thence to *New England*; where after ſome ſtay, being informed that the Parliament had relieved the People in ſome meaſure from the Abuſes in Church and State, and deſign'd to perfect that Work, he return'd to *England*; and in all Places, and on all Occaſions encouraged the People to appear vigorouſly for them. Having paſſed ſome time in *England*, he was made Chaplain to a Brigade that was ſent againſt the Iriſh Rebels, and obſerving the Condition of the plundered Proteſtants in that Country to deſerve Compaſſion, he went into

to *Holland*, and improved the Interſt he had there with ſo good ſucceſs, that he procured about Thirty Thouſand Pounds to be ſent from thence into *Ireland* for their Relief. He was a diligent and earneſt Sollicitor for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, who had been moſt inhumanly Perſecuted and reduced to the utmoſt Extremities by the Tyranny of the Duke of *Savoy*; and in Gratitude to the *Hollanders* for the Sanctuary he had found among them in the time of his Diſtreſs, he was not a little ſerviceable to them in Compoſing their Differences with *England* in the time of *Cromwel*.

An Order being made, that the Chief Juſtice *Coke* and Mr. *Peters* ſhould die on the ſame day, they were carried on two Sledds to the Place appointed for the Execution of the Sentence that had been pronounced againſt them, the Head of Major General *Harriſon* being placed on that which carried the Chief Juſtice, with the Face uncovered, and directed towards him; which was ſo far from producing the deſigned Effect, that he not only ſeemed to be animated with Courage from the Reflection he might make upon that Object; but the People every where expreſſed their Deteſtation of ſuch Uſage. At the Place of Execution, among other things, he declared that he had uſed the utmoſt of his Endeavours that the Practice of the Law might be regulated, and that the publick Juſtice might

might be adminſtred with as much Expedition and as little Expence as poſſible; and that he had ſuffer'd a more than ordinary Perſecution from thoſe of his own Profeſſion on that account. He ſaid he underſtood not the meaning of the Court, when they affirmed, That if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the Bar, it had been Treaſon in them; and as to the part he had in the Action with which he was charged, he was ſo far from repenting what he had done, that he was moſt ready to ſeal it with his Blood: Here the Sheriff rudely interrupting him, he replied, That it had not been the Cuſtom in the moſt barbarous Nations, much leſs in *England*, to inſult over a dying Man; adding, that he thought he was the firſt who had ever ſuffered Death for demanding Juſtice.

When this Victim was cut down and brought to be Quartered, one Colonel *Turner* called to the Sheriff's Men to bring Mr. *Peters* to ſee what was doing; which being done, the Executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody Hands together, asked him how he liked that Work? He told him he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worſt. And when he was upon the Ladder, he ſaid to the Sheriff, Sir, You have butcher'd one of the Servants of God before my Eyes, and have forc'd me to ſee it in order to terrifie and diſcourage me; but God has

has permitted it for my Support and Encouragement.

On the Sixteenth of *October*, Mr. *Thomas Scot* and Mr. *Gregory Clement* were drawn in one Sledd, and Colonel *Adrian Scroop* with Colonel *John Jones* in another, to *Charing Croſs*, in order to ſuffer Death as the reſt had done. Mr. *Scot* was a Gentleman who having been educated in the Univerſity of *Cambrige*, had lived privately in the Country, till upon a Recruit of Members to ſerve in the Parliament, he was choſen to be of their Number; and in that Station carried himſelf with ſuch Conſtancy and Zeal for the Service of the Common-wealth, that during the Interruption of the Parliament by *Cromwel*, the Country in which he lived, as a Mark of their Eſteem, choſe him to ſerve them as often as there was occaſion. When the Parliament was a ſecond time interrupted by the Army, he held a conſtant Correſpondence with *Monk* for their Reſtitution; in which he was very Inſtrumental, as well by cauſing the Letters he received from *Monk*, declaring his Reſolution to live and die with the Parliament, to be printed and publiſh'd, as by other Services. He had been ſeveral times choſen a Member of the Council of State; and the Parliament being again reſtored, they appointed him to be Secretary to that Board, and deputed him for one of the two Commiſſioners they ſent to accompany *Monk* in his march

march to *London*. To this Gentleman *Monk* ſolemnly ſwore at St. *Albans*, That he would be faithful to the Parliament; in confidence of which, when Mr. *Scot* had reſumed his Place in the Houſe, he undertook ſo largely for his Integrity. But when his Treachery was too manifeſt, he endeavour'd to paſs beyond the Seas, and was taken by Pirates; who having plundered him, ſet him aſhore in *Hampſhire*; yet by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, he procured another Veſſel to Land him in *Flanders*, where he was no ſooner arrived, but he was ſeized by an Agent for the King. *Don Alonzo de Cardenas*, then Governour of the Spaniſh *Netherlands*, who had been Ambaſſador for the King of *Spain* in *England*, during the Government of the Common-wealth, remembring the particular Obligations he had to Mr. *Scot*, cauſed him to be ſet at Liberty. Being freed from theſe Dangers, and afterwards finding his Name to be inſerted among others of the King's Judges who were required to render themſelves if they expected any Benefit by the Act of Indemnity; in confidence at leaſt of ſaving his Life, he ſurrendred himſelf to the Engliſh Agent within the time limited by the Proclamation. And tho' he was thus enſnared, yet he was not unwilling to confirm what he had done, with the Teſtimony of his Blood, which he did with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Cheerfulneſs and Satisfaction of Mind.

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He attempted ſeveral times to ſpeak to the People at the place of Execution, in juſtification of that Cauſe for which he was to Dye; but thoſe who feared nothing ſo much as Truth, interrupted him ſo often, that he found himſelf obliged to ſay, *That ſurely it muſt be a very bad Cauſe which cannot ſuffer the Words of a dying Man.*

Mr. *Gregory Clement* being the next that Suffer'd, was a Citizen and Merchant of *London*, who by trading to *Spain*, had raiſed a very conſiderable Eſtate. He was choſen a Member of the Parliament about the Year, 1646. and diſcharged that Truſt with great Diligence, always joyning with thoſe who were moſt affectionate to the Common-wealth, tho he never was poſſeſs'd of any place of Profit under them. Being appointed one of the Commiſſioners for the Trial of the King, he durſt not refuſe his aſſiſtance in that Service. He had no good Elocution, but his Apprehenſion and Judgment were not to be deſpiſed. He declared before his Death, that nothing troubled him ſo much, as his pleading Guilty at the time of his Trial, to ſatisfy the importunity of his Relations, by which, he ſaid he had rendered himſelf unworthy to Dye in ſo glorious a Cauſe.

Colonel *Adrian Scroop* was deſcended of an antient Family, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable Eſtate. His Port and Meen was noble, and the endowments of his Mind every way anſwerable

ſwerable. He appeared early in the Army of the Parliament, being preſent and engaged at the Battle of *Edge-hill*, in the Head of a Troop of Horſe, which he had raiſed. He was firſt advanced to the degree of a Major, and ſoon after appointed to be Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe. He had been, for ſeveral Years, Governour of the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and when the Parliament thought fit to ſlight that Garriſon, they made him one of their Commiſſioners for the Civil Government of *Scotland*, in conjunction with the Lord *Broghil*, *Monk* and others. In all theſe Employments he manifeſted ſuch Abilities and Fidelity, that the Parliament appointed him to be one of the Commiſſioners for the Trial of the late King; in which Place he acted with all the impartiality that becomes a Judg in whom ſo great a Truſt is repoſed, and who ought to be no reſpecter of Perſons. The hard meaſure he received from the Convention at *Weſtminſter*, I have already mentioned; it remains only to give ſome Account of what he ſaid at the Place where he ſuffered Death, which was to this purpoſe, That tho he had been accuſtomed to be ſeen in better Places, and other kind of Circumſtances, yet it being the Will of God he ſhould be brought into this Condition, he ſubmitted cheerfully; that he never had entertained Malice againſt any Man, and that he now wiſhed no ill either to the Jury who found him Guilty, or to the Judges who pro-

pronounced Sentence; or even to the Perſon by whoſe means he was brought to that Place, who, he preſumed, was ſo well known, that it was not neceſſary to name him. He ſaid he ſhould not boaſt of his Birth, or Education, or the private Conduct of his Life, becauſe he was going to appear before a Tribunal where all Men muſt come; and where the juſtice or injuſtice of every Action would be manifeſt, deſiring the People in the mean time not to think uncharitably of him; for he was firmly perſwaded he ſuffered for the Cauſe of God and his Country.

Colonel *John Jones* who next appeared on this Bloody Theater, was a Gentleman of a competent Eſtate in *North-Wales*, and ſo well beloved in his Country that he did conſiderable Service to the publick Cauſe by his Intereſt in thoſe parts. He reduced the Iſle of *Angleſey* to the Obedience of the Commonwealth, and was ſoon after choſen to ſerve in Parliament for that Place. He had been one of the Council of State, and in the Year, 1650. was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners of Parliament for managing the Civil Affairs of *Ireland*. This Truſt he diſcharged during the courſe of divers Years, with great Diligence, Ability and Integrity, in providing for the happineſs of that Country, and bringing to Juſtice thoſe who had been concerned in the Murders of the Engliſh Proteſtants. When the Great Parliament was reſtored to the ex-

ercise of their Authority, after the long interruption, they chose him to be one of those eight Persons, to whom they committed the care of the publick Safety, till they could establish a Council of State. Of this also he was chosen a Member, and soon after sent by the Parliament to his former Trust in *Ireland*, where he continued till the late Change. Being drawn to *Charing Cross* on the same Sledd with *Colonel Scroop*, the Gravity and graceful Meen of these aged Gentlemen, accompanied with visible marks of Fortitude and internal Satisfaction, surprised the Spectators with Admiration and Compassion.

Colonel *Daniel Axtel* was next brought to Trial. The chief Heads of the Inditement against him were, That he commanded the Guards both at the Trial and Execution of the King; that he ordered the Souldiers, in a tumultuous manner, to demand Justice and afterwards Execution; that he threatned to shoot a Lady, who from a Gallery that was near the Court where the King was Tried, had contradicted the President when he was Speaking concerning the Charge; that he sent for and encouraged the Executioner, and that he had upbraided with Cowardice one of the Persons, to whom the Warrant for seeing Execution done upon the King was directed, for refusing to Sign it. And these, with some other Things of less weight, were called Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King.

Colonel

Colonel *Hercules Huncks*, who was one of the Three to whom the ſaid Warrant had been directed; one of the forty Halberdiers attending the High Court of Juſtice, and one who had oppoſed with more than ordinary vehemence all thoſe who were for the King, was the principal Witneſs againſt him. Colonel *Axtel* having firſt acknowledg'd his Ignorance in matters of Law, and therefore firing that no undue advantages might taken againſt him on that account, proceeded to ſpeak to this Effect; That the War was made by the joynt Authority of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, who claimed a Right of employing the military Force of the Nation for the publick Safety, as appears by divers Acts and Declarations publiſhed by their Order. This Authority raiſed an Army, made the Earl of *Eſſex* General, then the Earl of *Mancheſter* of the Forces of the Eaſtern Aſſociation, and after that created and authoriſed Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of all their Forces. Under this Authority, ſaid he, I acted, which I conceive to be Legal, becauſe this Parliament was not only called by the King's Writ, and choſen by the People, but alſo becauſe a Bill had paſſed, that they ſhould not be Diſſolved otherwiſe than by their own Conſent. Having this unqueſtionable Authority for my Juſtification, I preſume my Caſe comes not within the reach of the Statute 25th *Edward* III. which could

by no means intend ſuch a Power as was not only owned and obeyed at Home, but acknowledged by Princes and States Abroad, to be the chief Authority of the Nation, by ſending Agents and Ambaſſadors to them. The Judges, who ought to be the Eye and Guide of the People acted under them, divers of them publickly declaring that it was Lawful and Juſtifiable to obey the Parliament. But if their Acts may not be accounted ſuch, tho' they carried that Title, and were obeyed by the Judges, Miniſters, Officers of State and the whole Nation; yet ſurely they cannot be denied to be Orders of Parliament; which would be ſufficient to juſtify any Man who acted by them. This Parliament ſo Conſtituted, ſo Acknowledged and ſo Obeyed, having made choice of a Perſon to be General of their Forces, I was by that General, in vertue of the Authority he had received from them, conſtituted an Officer under him: And therefore whatever I have done was as a Soldier and according to the Duty of my Office, for if I was in *Weſtminſter-Hall* at the time of the King's Trial, I was there by a Command of the General: And if it be ſo great a Crime to have been an Officer in that Army which was raiſed by the Parliament, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Mancheſter*, the Lord General *Fairfax*, *Monk* and others who have acted by the ſame Authority, were no leſs Criminal than my ſelf. He cited the Declarations of the

the Lords and Commons, publiſhed when they engaged the People to take Arms, in which they aſſerted, That it was repugnant to Reaſon that the Judgment and Actions of the Parliament might not be a Rule and Guide to the Nation in their Duty; and declared that the Perſons who ſhould act under their Authority ought not to be queſtioned for ſo doing: He therefore preſumed that an inferior Court would not expound the Law contrary to the Judgment of the High Court of Parliament; adding, That if the Houſe of Commons who are the Repreſentatives of the whole Nation, may be Guilty of Treaſon, it will follow that all the People of *England*, who choſe them, are guilty alſo, and then where will a Jury be found to try this Cauſe? My Commiſſion is dated the 27th of *March*, 1648. ten Months before the King's Death. The Commiſſion by which General *Fairfax* was authoriſed to give mine to me, he received from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. I did nothing but my Duty in going to my Regiment: For if the General ſays, go to ſuch a Place and ſtay there, if I refuſe, by the Law of Arms I am to Dye. But if I obey, it ſeems I am in danger alſo. The Queſtion therefore in Law, I humbly conceive, will be this, and I deſire it may be truly and fairly ſtated, *Whether a Man who is guided by the Judgment of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, acting*

only according to that Judgment of Parliament, and under their Authority can be queſtioned for Treaſon? To this the Council anſwering, That he was not accuſed of levying War, but of aſſiſting at the Tryal and Execution of the King, and encouraging the Souldiers to clamour for Juſtice and Execution; the Colonel replied, That he was no more Guilty than the General, that his Preſence in *Weſtminſter-Hall* was not Voluntary, and that he was there by Command. This he preſſed ſo home upon the Court, appealing to themſelves for their Judgment in the Caſe, that they were neceſſitated to fly to their old Refuge of queſtioning the Authority by which he had acted. To the reſt of the Evidence he ſaid, That if any Lady had talked aloud during the time of the the King's Tryal, to the Interruption and Diſturbance of the Court, he ſuppoſed it was no Treaſon to bid her hold her Tongue; That if he ſmiled, as Colonel *Temple* depos'd, it could not amount to ſo great a Crime; That if ſome Souldiers did cry out Juſtice, it was not by his Inſtigation; yet he hoped that to deſire Juſtice, which is one of the principal Attributes of God, is no Treaſon. Having ſaid theſe with many other things in his Defence, he addreſs'd himſelf to the Jury, and acquainted them that he left his Caſe and his Life in their Hands.

In anſwer to theſe Arguments, *Bridgman*, who was Preſident of this Aſſembly, contented himſelf with repeating that ſtrange and unhear'd of Doctrin, *That no Perſon whatſoever, nor Community, not the People either collectively or repreſentatively, have any coercive Power over the King.* For this he quoted ſome Precedents as little to the purpoſe as the Aſſertion it ſelf, and then concluded the Caſe to be ſo clear, that the Jury needed not to ſtir from the Bar. It ſoon appear'd that he knew the Men, for they fully anſwered his Expectations; and as they were directed, without any difficulty, declared Colonel *Axtel* to be Guilty of the Treaſon with which he had been charged.

Colonel *Francis Hacker* being appointed to appear alſo in this Tragical Scene, he was brought to the Bar; where an Inditement for compaſſing and imagining the Death of the King was read againſt him, and to prove the Accuſation Witneſſes were produced, who depos'd, that he was one of the Perſons that were upon the Guard and kept the King Priſoner; That the Warrant for ſeeing the Sentence that had been pronounced by the High Court of Juſtice againſt the King put in Execution, was directed to him with others; That in Proſecution of that Commiſſion, he had ſign'd a Warrant for Executing the King; And that he took the King, by vertue of the Warrant he had received, out of the Cuſtody of

Colonel *Thomlinſon*, and conducted him to the Scaffold on which he had been put to Death. Colonel *Hacker* excepted not againſt any of the Jury, finding all of them to be of the ſame Stamp; and ſaid little more in his Defence than that he had acted by the command of his Superiours, and that he had always endeavoured to ſerve his Country in all his publick Actions; ſo that his Tryal was quickly diſpatch'd, and he declared Guilty of High Treaſon. He was a Gentleman of a conſiderable Eſtate, derived to him from his Anceſtors, who lived in the County of *Leiceſter*: He had paſſed through ſeveral Degrees of Command in the Service of the Parliament, and particularly diſtinguiſh'd himſelf at the Battle of *Worceſter*, in the Head of a Regiment of Horſe which he had raiſed on that occaſion for the Defence of his Country: He refuſed his Aſſiſtance to ſupport the Uſurpation of Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, tho' he had forced a Knight-hood, as 'tis call'd, upon him, and preſented him with two Swords, refuſing to obey his Orders, and joining with the Common-wealth Party in his Depoſition: He had continued in the Command of his Regiment till he was taken in Cuſtody, having had Aſſurances from *Monk*, that he ſhould be fully indemnified. So that when he came to *London*, he made a Viſit to *Monk*, and was received with all the Appearances of Friendſhip and Affection. But the next day after

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he had been thus careſſed, he was ſeized, examined and ſent to the *Tower*.

Colonel *Daniel Axtel* had been Captain, Major and Lieutenant Colonel in a Regiment of Foot; in the laſt of which Employments he had aſſiſted at the Tryal and Execution of the late King. When Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was ſent by the Parliament into *Ireland* with an Army againſt the Rebels, and the Regiment in which Colonel *Axtel* ſerved was drawn out by Lot for that Expedition, he cheerfully undertook the Employment; and for his Fidelity, Courage and Conduct, was ſoon preferred to the Head of a Regiment; and not long after was made Governour of *Kilkenny* and the adjacent Precinct, which important Truſt he diſcharged with Diligence and Succeſs. In this Station he ſhewed a more than ordinary Zeal in puniſhing thoſe Iriſh who had been guilty of murdering the Proteſtants; and on this account, as well as for what he had done in relation to the late King, the Court had procured him to be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity.

Captain *William Hewlet* was alſo accuſed and tried for cutting off the King's Head, or at leaſt for being one of the Perſons that ſtood Mask'd upon the Scaffold during his Execution; and tho' divers creditable Witneſſes depos'd, that *Gregory Bandon*, who was common Hangman, had confeſſed and owned to have ex-

executed the King; yet the Jury found him Guilty of the Indictment. But the Court being ſenſible of the injury done to him, procured his Reprieve.

Thoſe whom I mention'd before to have been excepted both for Life and Eſtate, with a reſerve, that if upon Tryal they ſhould be found Guilty, Sentence of Death ſhould not be executed againſt any of them except by Act of Parliament, were brought to be tried before this Court; where ſome of them pleaded Guilty ſimply; but others, tho' they acknowledged the Guilt, denied the Malice; and ſome confeſſing the Fact, denied the Guilt. Of this laſt Number was Colonel *Henry Martin*, of whoſe Tryal I ſhall only mention ſome few of the moſt remarkable Paſſages, and ſo leave this melancholy Subject: For if I ſhould give an account, tho' with all poſſible brevity, of what paſſed in the Court during their Seſſion, together with what might be neceſſary to ſay concerning the Perſons accuſed, I ſhould be carried too far from my Purpoſe. Colonel *Henry Martin* was charged with Signing and Sealing the Precept for ſummoning the High Court of Juſtice; with Signing the Warrant for Executing the King; with ſitting in Court almoſt every day of his Tryal, and particularly that on which he received the Sentence of Death. To theſe things he anſwered, That he declined not to acknowledge the Matter of Fact that was

was alledged againſt him, the Malice imputed to him by the Indictment ſet aſide. Upon which, being told by one of the Council, That he ſeem'd to be of Opinion, that a Man might ſit and adjudge a King to Death, and ſign a Warrant for his Execution, meekly, innocently, charitably and honeſtly. He anſwer'd, that tho' he ſhould not compare his Knowledge in the Law with that of ſuch a learned Gentleman; yet according to that little Underſtanding he had been capable of acquiring, he preſumed, *That no Fact could be named, which in it ſelf is a Crime, but only as it is circumſtantiated*; and to make good that Aſſertion, gave ſeveral Inſtances. But the Council to prove that he had acted Maliciouſly, produced a Perſon who depos'd, that he ſigned the Warrant merrily and in a jeſting way, as he was rallying with Lieutenant General *Cromwell*. To which he replied, That ſuch a way of doing a thing does by no means imply Malice. The Council finding their Inſinuations and Aggravations of the Charge againſt him ſo eaſily blown away by theſe and other Anſwers, made up with Paſſion what they wanted in the weight of Reaſon; the Sollicitor General exclaiming, *That all good People abhorr'd the Action*; *and that he was ſorry to ſee ſo little Repentance*. To this the Colonel only ſaid, He hoped that what was urged by the Council, would not make that Impreſſion upon the Court and Jury as

ſeem'd

ſeem'd to be deſign'd; and that if it were poſſible for that Blood to be in the Veins again, and every drop of that which was ſhed in the late Wars, he could wiſh it with all his Heart: But he preſumed it might be lawful to ſay in his own Defence, That what he did, he thought at that time he might do. There was, ſaid he, a Houſe of Commons as I underſtood it to be, tho' perhaps Your Lordſhips think them not to have been a Houſe of Commons: However, they were then the ſupreme Authority in *England*, and acknowledged and reputed ſo to be both at Home and Abroad; I ſuppoſe he who gives Obedience to the Authority *de facto* in being, ſufficiently ſhews himſelf to be of a peaceable Temper, and far from a Traytor: There was a Statute made in the time of *Henry* the VII. to indemnify all thoſe who ſhould take Arms for a King *de facto*, tho' he were not ſo *de jure*. And if a ſupreme Officer *de facto* can juſtifie a War, I preſume the ſupreme Authority in *England*, tho' *de facto* only, may juſtifie a Court of Judicature. If it ſhould be ſaid, That the Authority by which we acted was only one Eſtate of three, and but part of that; I anſwer, It was all that was then Exiſting. And I have heard Lawyers ſay, That if there be Commons appurtenant to a Tenement, and that the Tenement be all burnt down except one ſmall Stick, the Commons ſtill belong to that ſmall Piece as much

much as when the Tenement was all ſtanding. I ſhall alſo humbly offer it to Conſideration, whether the late King for ſome time before his Trial, could truly and properly be called a King, who was not in the Execution of his Office, but made a Priſoner, and no way concern'd in the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs. But notwithſtanding theſe and divers other things which he ſaid in his Defence with as much Preſence of Mind as Solidity of Argument, he was brought in Guilty of the Treaſon for which he had been accuſed; in purſuance of which Verdict, the Sentence of Condemnation was paſſed againſt him, the Convention making no Proviſion for ſecuring the Lives either of him or the reſt of the Gentlemen that had been decoy'd into a Surrender of their Perſons, tho' they had implicitely promiſed them Favour.

The Army that had ſo long ſtood in the way of the Court, was now wholly disbanded, except only *Monk*'s Regiment of Foot; and that was balanced by a Regiment of Horſe raiſed under colour of being a Guard to the King. This, together with the Payment of their Arrears, and a Liberty of trading in Corporations was the Reward they received for their Services, notwithſtanding all the fair Promiſes both of *Monk* and the King. And thus theſe Men who had accumulated Treachery upon Treachery, were diſmiſs'd with Infamy; for the very acknowledgment that was made by the King, That they

they had been the chief Inſtruments of his Return, reproach'd them with Infidelity to the Parliament, and their own deſires to be abſolved from the Guilt of their former Actions, was a Confeſſion that they had been Rebels to the King. However, the Diſſipation of theſe Men was not cauſed by the King's Averſion to a ſtanding Army; for the whole Courſe of his Life demonſtrates the contrary; but being perſuaded that they who had already made ſo many Changes in *England*, were able to bring about another, and to turn him out again with as little Conſideration as they had brought him in, he thought it moſt ſafe and neceſſary to free himſelf at once from ſuch dangerous Companions.

This Work being accompliſh'd, the Court began to take off the Mask: For tho' the King had publiſh'd a Declaration for Accommodation in Matters of Publick Worſhip and Ceremonies, and tho' the Epiſcopal Party in the Convention had patiently permitted a Committee to be appointed to conſider of that Matter; yet being delivered from the terror of the Army, they oppoſed the Report of the Committee with ſuch violence, that it was not thought fit to preſs it any more: By which means all the hopes of the Presbyterians vaniſhed, and this Mountain brought forth a Mouſe. The natural Tendency of theſe things was ſo viſible, that Mr. *Pryn*, who had manifeſted a more than ordinary Zeal for disbanding

banding the Army, finding his Expectations defeated, and the Presbyterian Party ſo miſerably deluded, after he had made Report of the number of Regiments that had been diſbanded, deſired the Houſe, that they would be mindful not to do thoſe things that might bring them together again. Upon which the adverſe Party fell upon him with that fury, that if the Houſe had not riſen immediately in great diſorder, he had been obliged to explain himſelf at the Bar.

But for all this, the Convention, tho' called in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, as if they had deſigned to put the People beyond the Hopes of any Remedy, made a Preſent to the King of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe during his Life, beſides other great Sums charged upon the Nation to ſupply his preſent Occaſions: And tho' before the Paſſing of the Bill of Indemnity they had ſeemed ſenſible, that they were in honour concern'd to make Proviſion for the Security of the Lives of thoſe, who having ſate as Judges of the late King, had rendred themſelves into their Hands upon the Proclamation which had been publiſh'd by their Advice; yet they not only abandon'd thoſe poor deluded Gentlemen who lay under the Sentence of Condemnation, and waited for the Favour they had implicitly promiſed; but alſo paſſed a Bill of Attainder againſt thoſe of the King's Judges and other Perſons, who having been excepted out of the

the Act, had escaped their Hands, adding to other unusual Clauses, *That all Trusts for their Use should be forfeited.* But the Duke of *York*, upon whom these confiscated Estates were bestowed, must be supplied by any means.

Henrietta Maria of *France*, Widow to the late King *Charles*, who had been a principal Instrument to advise and encourage him in his illegal Actions, passed over into *England* about this time; and being arrived at *London*, the House of Commons, in which were many Persons, who had been Members of that Parliament which had threatned to accuse her of High Treason, not only congratulated her Return, but presented her Daughter that had accompanied her in her Journey, with the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds. But notwithstanding all the flattering Subserviency they could shew, and all that they could do to procure themselves to be thought fit for the Service of the Court; yet being not thoroughly principled to do the Work of the Church, they were acquainted that they should be dissolved on the 24th of *December* next ensuing; against which time it was desired, that all Bills under Consideration might be made ready. And least the People should, upon the Dissolution of this Assembly, form a Body of Men, and assert their Liberties, it was pretended that a Great Plot to seize the King and the *Tower*, to kill the Queen with all those that should be found of the French Nation,

and

and to reſtore the Parliament, was carrying on throughout *England*. Under this colour Major General *Overton*, Colonel *Desborough*, Colonel *Salmon*, Lieutenant Colonel *Farley*, Major *Whitby*, and divers other Perſons were ſeized in *Lonaon*; and Colonel *Duckenfield*, Major *Anthony Morgan*, and ſeveral others were impriſoned in the Country.

During the Noiſe of this Conſpiracy, the Queen accompanied by Her Daughter and *Jermyn* return'd to *France*, which induced many to believe that ſhe was terrified by the Deſigns againſt her Perſon. But ſhe, who knew the Plot to be no more than a Fiction, had other real Grounds for her departure. For having endeavoured to perſuade her Son to remove the Chancellor *Hyde* from his Councils, and finding ſhe effected nothing by her continual Sollicitations, ſhe ſoon grew weary of *England*; where, tho' by the Importunity of the King, ſhe had at laſt admitted the new Dutcheſs of *York* to come into her Preſence; yet by applying her Self to other Company, not deſiring her to ſit, and taking the firſt opportunity to withdraw from the Room, ſhe abundantly ſhew'd that ſhe thought her not worthy to be treated as a Daughter. Theſe were the principal, if not the only Reaſons that moved the Queen to quit the Court of her Son, and to retire into her own Country, tho' to give a better colour to her departure,

and to conceal theſe Domeſtick Diviſions, they made uſe of the Pretences before mentioned.

On the Day of the Diſſolution of the Convention, Sir *Harbottle Grimeſton* who was their Speaker, made a Speech to the King filled with the greateſt Flattery: In anſwer to which, the Chancellor was no way ſparing of Complements, applauding the Wiſdom of the Houſe in the King's Reſtitution, and their diligent Endeavours to give his Majeſty Satisfaction, by ſettling Things in ſuch a manner as might prevent new Diſturbances and Troubles. Yet he could not forbear to reflect upon them for not infeſting the King with the Militia, (which he ſaid had been the great Bone of Contention during the late War) nor declaring any thing concerning that Matter, but leaving it uncertain as they found it, and conſequently a Foundation of new Differences. To prevent which, and to ſecure the Peace of the Nation, he acquainted them that the King would be conſtrained to eſtabliſh it for the preſent as formerly his Predeceſſors had done. And to convince them of the Neceſſity of this arbitrary Proceeding, he took occaſion to put them in mind of the late Plot (an admirable State-Engine fitted for all Times) telling them, That tho' the Perſons engaged in this Conſpiracy were only the Lees of the People, yet ſmall Beginnings ought not to be neglected, eſpe-

eſpecially conſidering that all Things in this Deſign had been brought to a Head; that I had been nominated to command two thouſand five hundred Men in *London*, who were ready to ſeize the *Tower*; that the like number was enliſted under my Command in the Weſtern Parts of *England*; and that another Perſon, whom he named not, had as many in the North ready to proſecute the ſame Deſign. To give the beſt colour they could to theſe Falſhoods, all Places where it could be ſuſpected I might lie concealed, were diligently ſearched; my Wife was ſeveral times plundered of her wearing Clothes; the Lodgings of Colonel *Kempſon* my Brother-in-Law were ranſack'd, and many of his Goods taken away; all my Writings, which I had recommended to the Care of a Friend, were betray'd by a Servant in hopes of Reward, and ſeized; and one who had waited on me in my Chamber was impriſoned in the Gate-houſe, where he lay Ten Weeks, becauſe he could not diſcover where I was.

Colonel *John Barkſtead* and Colonel *Okey*, with Colonel *Walton* and Colonel *Dixwel*, who had been Commiſſioners in the High Court of Juſtice at the Trial of the late King, having made their Eſcape from *England* into *Germany*, were received into Protection at *Hanaw*, and made Burgeſſes of the Town. Of theſe Colonel *Barkſtead* and Colonel *Okey* took a Journey to *Holland*, to meet ſome Re-

lations who were contented to baniſh themſelves with them, and to conduct them to the Place which they had choſen for their Reſidence. But one Mr. *George Downing*, who was Agent for the King in *Holland*, and had formerly been a Preacher and Chaplin to Colonel *Okey*'s Regiment, having received Information that ſuch Perſons were in that Country, obtained an Order from the States General for their Seizure; by virtue of which they were taken, together with Mr. *Miles Corbet*, one of the King's Judges alſo, ſent into *England* in a Ship of War, and committed Priſoners to the *Tower*. Two Things ſeemed eſpecially remarkable in this Action, the Treachery of *Downing*, after he had given aſſurance to a Perſon ſent to him by Colonel *Okey* to that end, that he had no Orders to look after him; but chiefly the barbarous part acted by the States in this Conjuncture, who, tho' they had themſelves ſhaken off the Yoak of Tyranny, and to that time had made it a Fundamental Maxim to receive and protect all thoſe who ſhould come among them; yet contrary to the Principles of their Government, and the Intereſt of their Commonwealth, to ſay nothing of the Laws of God, Nature and Nations, without any previous Engagement to the Court of *England*, contributed as much as in them lay to the Deſtruction of theſe Gentlemen. But a Treaty was to be made with *England*, and their Trade ſecured

cured at any rate, tho' the Foundations ſhould be laid in Blood.

Mr. *Miles Corbet* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Norfolk*. He had applied himſelf with Diligence to the Study of the Laws of *England* in the Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, and for the ſpace of Thirty ſeven Years had been choſen to ſerve his Country in the ſeveral Parliaments that were called. Being appointed one of the High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of the late King, he appeared not among the Judges by reaſon of ſome Scruples he had entertained, till the Day that Sentence was pronounced. But upon more mature Deliberation finding them to be of no weight, he durſt no longer abſent himſelf, coming early on that Day into the Court, that he might give a publick Teſtimony of his Satisfaction and Concurrence with their Proceedings. He was afterwards by the Parliament made one of their Commiſſioners for the Civil Government of *Ireland*, in which Employment he manifeſted ſuch Integrity, that tho' he was continued for many Years in that Station, yet he impaired his own Eſtate for the Publick Service, whilſt he was the greateſt Husband of the Treaſure of the Commonwealth. The day before his death he aſſured his Friends, That he was ſo throughly convinced of the Juſtice and Neceſſity of that Action for which he was to die, that if the Things had been yet intire, and to do, he

could not refuſe to act as he had done, without affronting his Reaſon, and oppoſing himſelf to the Dictates of his Conſcience; adding, that the Immoralities, Lewdneſs and Corruptions of all ſorts, which had been introduced and incouraged ſince the late Revolution, were no inconſiderable Juſtification of thoſe Proceedings.

Colonel *John Barkſtead* was a Citizen and Goldſmith of *London*, who being ſenſible of the Invaſions that had been made upon the Liberties of the Nation, took Arms among the firſt for their Defence, in the Quality of Captain to a Foot Company in the Regiment of Colonel *Venn*: He had not been long in this Employment, before his Merit advanced him to the degree of a Major, in which Station he was made Governor of *Redding*: And afterwards being preferr'd to the Command of a Regiment, he was conſtituted by the Parliament in conſideration of his Services, Lieutenant of the *Tower* of *London*. When he was brought to confirm with the Teſtimony of his Blood that Cauſe for which he had fought, he performed that part with Chearfulneſs and Courage, no way derogating from the Character of a Soldier and a true Engliſhman.

Colonel —— *Okey* was alſo a Citizen of *London*, and one of thoſe who appeared early in the Service of the Parliament. He had been firſt a Captain of Foot, then a Captain of

of Horſe, and afterwards Major in the Regiment of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*. In the Year 1645. at the time when the Army was new modell'd, he was made Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, which was afterwards converted into a Regiment of Horſe. In theſe Employments he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Courage, Conduct and Fidelity; and during the Uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwel* was diſmiſs'd from his Command in the Army, on account of his Affection to the Commonwealth. He was choſen by the County of *Bedford* to repreſent and ſerve them in the Convention that was called by *Richard*; and after the Reſtitution of the Great Parliament, they reſtored him to his Command in the Army. Being ready to ſuffer for that Cauſe which he had ſtrenuouſly defended, he ſaid in the preſence of many Witneſſes, That if he had as many Lives as he had Hairs on his Head, he would willingly hazard them all on the ſame Account. The Sentence againſt theſe three Gentlemen having been executed on the 19th of *April* 1662. the King beſtowed the Body of Colonel *Okey* upon his Wife to diſpoſe as ſhe thought fit; upon which ſhe ordered him to be interr'd at *Stepney* where his firſt Wife lay in a Vault that he had purchaſed for himſelf and Family. But the Report of this Funeral being ſpread among the People, ſeveral Thouſands of them aſſembled themſelves in and about *Newgate* Market where

the Body lay, resolving to attend it to the Grave. And tho' they behaved themselves with Decency and Modesty, yet the King upon notice of this appearance, was so alarum'd, that he revoked his Grant to the Colonel's Wife, dispatch'd Orders to the Sheriff to disperse the Company, and commanded the Body to be interred in the *Tower*.

The Report of the Inhumanity of the States towards our Friends being brought to *Geneva*, we began to doubt whether that little Common-wealth, who were under great Apprehensions of the King of *France*, might not, if our Enemies could engage him to press them, follow the Example of the *Dutch*, and deliver us up also. We resolved therefore either to procure forthwith an assurance of Safety for our Persons, or to make the best Provision we could for our Selves in some other Place. To this end we employ'd Mr. *Perrot* our Landlord to discourse with Monsieur *Voisin* the principal Syndic, and to desire him to inform us what Usage we might expect, in case we should be demanded of that State. The Syndic upon this Application promised to serve us to the utmost of his Power, assuring us that if any Letters should come to his Hands concerning us, he would not only give us timely Notice, but if such a thing should fall out in the Night, he would cause the Water-Gate, of which he always kept the Key, to be opened for our Escape; and if we

should

ſhould be obliged to depart by Day, we ſhould have a free Paſſage through any of the City-Gates that we ſhould chuſe: To all which he added this farther Promiſe, That when his Brother Syndic Monſieur *Dupain* ſhould return from *Bern* where he then was, they would conſult together how to make our Reſidence more ſafe to us either by a publick Act or otherwiſe, as ſhould be found moſt convenient. With theſe Aſſurances I was fully ſatisfied, being as I thought as much as could be expected. But Mr. *Liſle* and Mr. *Cawley* who were likewiſe in the ſame Place, made many Objections againſt our ſtay, and preſſed Mr. *Perrot* upon the return of Mr. *Dupain*, to put him upon conferring with Monſieur *Voiſin* touching our Affair. Mr. *Perrot* upon this went to the Nephew of the ſaid Monſieur *Dupain*, who was Procurator-General of *Geneva*, and by him was adviſed that we ſhould addreſs our ſelves in a publick manner to the Council for their Protection. This way I oppoſed as a thing not fit for us to ask or the City to grant, leaſt they ſhould be brought into Difficulties, and perhaps Danger upon our account. But Mr. *Perrot* affirming, that the Procurator was of Opinion, That it was both eaſy and fit to be done, and that his Brother who was a leading Man in the Council was of the ſame Judgment, I thought they were beſt acquainted with their own Affairs, and therefore reſolved to let them proceed as they

they pleaſed. Having made their Attempt, they found the Succeſs I expected. For the Buſineſs being brought before the Council, Monſieur *Let* one of the Syndics, from whom the firſt Syndic had endeavoured to conceal his Correſpondence with us, expecting the Payment of a great Debt due to him from the King of *England*, or poſſibly inclining in his Affections to that Intereſt, not only obſtructed the Addreſs, but charged thoſe who had promoted it with a deſign of ſurpriſing the Council. However the Council was ſo favourable, that tho' they thought not convenient to grant the Requeſt, yet being unwilling to deny us their Protection, they put off the farther Conſideration of that Affair to another Day, ſome of their Members in Friendſhip to us adviſing privately that it ſhould be withdrawn, which was done accordingly. In the mean time that we might not be wanting to our ſelves in this Conjuncture, we made Application to the Lords of the Swiſs Canton of *Bern* for their Protection, in which we were moſt friendly aſſiſted by Monſieur *Bailival* Lieutenant-Governor of *Lauſanna*, who had been lately put into that Place upon the death of one *Godward*, the only Friend to Monarchy and Enemy to our Cauſe that lived in that Town.

Mr. *Liſle* and Mr. *Cawley* meeting with this diſappointment at *Geneva* reſolved to remove, and to that end hired a Boat to carry them

to

to *Lauſanna*. I accompanied them to the Water-ſide, and whilſt I was taking leave, a Letter was brought to me from the Perſon we had employ'd to their Excellencies of *Bern*; in which I was aſſured, They had readily condeſcended to our Deſires. This was an Incouragement to me to continue ſome time longer at *Geneva*, not doubting their Protection when they ſhould find us to be favoured and countenanced by their beſt Friends and Allies. Therefore a day or two after the departure of my two Friends, I went to the principal Syndic, and having excuſed them as well as I could for leaving the Town without waiting on him, I acquainted him that the Application to the Council was made without my Advice, and that I was before, as well as now, fully ſatisfied with the verbal Engagement he had given for our Security; which I had no ſooner ſaid, when he, not without Diſcompoſure, and as I conjectured, Fear, made anſwer, That he could no longer think himſelf obliged by his Promiſes, having gone ſo far, in expectation that what had paſſed between us ſhould be kept ſecret; whereas now he thought the King of *England* might have notice of it. Upon this Retractation, thinking it too hazardous to remain any longer at *Geneva*, I departed the next Day, accompanied by a particular Friend, for *Lauſanna*, where we found Mr. *Liſle* and Mr. *Cawley*, who had received the Act of Protection from the Lords of *Bern* granted

granted under our own proper Names, which I mention for their Honour, who ſhewed their Courage and Generoſity in owning us and our Cauſe, when we had been abandoned by thoſe, whoſe true Intereſt was the ſame with our own.

In the Month of *July* 1662. I received Letters from *England* with an Account of the Trial, Sentence and Death of Sir *Henry Vane*; of which I ſhall only ſay, That he behaved himſelf on all thoſe Occaſions in ſuch a manner that he left it doubtful, whether his Eloquence, ſoundneſs of Judgment, and preſence of Mind, his Gravity and Magnanimity, his conſtant adherence to the Cauſe of his Country, and Heroick Carriage during the time of his Confinement and at the hour of Death; or the Malice of his Enemies and their frivolous Suggeſtions at his Trial, the breach of the Publick Faith in the Uſage he found, the Incivility of the Bench, and the ſavage Rudeneſs of the Sheriff, who commanded the Trumpets ſeveral times to ſound that he might not be heard by the People, were more remarkable.

The following Account of this (and another Tranſaction which I care not to inſiſt upon) being ſent to me at *Geneva*, I may not omit to inſert in this place, becauſe it ſeems to give the true Reaſons of the Court of *England* for hurrying Sir *Henry Vane* out of the World.

On

" On *Friday* laſt being the Sixteenth of this " Inſtant *June* 1662. Sir *Henry Vane* pleaded " for his Life, and Major General *Lambert* " for his; or rather, the firſt pleaded for the " Life and Liberties of his Country, and the " other for his own. The Iſſue in all appear- " ance will be, that Sir *Henry* will be put to " death and *Lambert* pardoned, tho' both are " under Sentence of Condemnation. The " reaſon of this diſtinction is no other, than " the manner of their Defence, the one al- " ledging the Authority of the Great Parlia- " ment for his Juſtification, and that he was " indemnified by the Act of Amneſty; the " other meanly extenuating and excuſing what " he did againſt Sir *George Boothe* and *Monk* " (which was the principal part of the Accu- " ſation againſt him) by pleading Ignorance " of their Intentions, neither of them having " declared that they deſigned to reſtore the " King, and *Monk* to the contrary having " openly declared for the Reſtitution of the " Parliament. Sir *Henry Vane* was long in his " Defence, but not tedious: He much per- " plexed both Court and Council, and has " acquired eternal Reputation by nobly plead- " ing for the dying Liberties of his Country; " it being clear that all the Party which ſeem- " ed to be indemnified by the Act of Amneſty, " ſhall be puniſhed in his Perſon; and that for " this Cauſe only, That in his pleading he " undertook by the Authority of the ſaid

" Par-

" Parliament to juſtify what he had done;
" maintaining, That the Houſe of Commons
" repreſenting the whole Body of the People,
" in caſe of difference between the Authority
" Royal and Politick, poſſeſſes a juſt Power
" to defend the Rights of the People, and to
" authorize the People of *England*, and every
" one of them, to defend them.

Sir *Henry Vane* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Durham*, eldeſt Son to Sir *Henry Vane*, who had been Secretary of State and Comptroller of the Houſehold to the late King. Being ſcandalized with the Innovations brought into the Publick Worſhip, he went to *New England*, and remained there for the ſpace of five or ſix years; the two laſt of which he was conſecutively choſen Governor of that Country, tho' not exceeding the Age of Twenty four Years. In the beginning of the Great Parliament, he was elected to ſerve his Country among them, without the leaſt application made on his part to that end: And in this Station he ſoon made appear how capable he was of managing great Affairs, poſſeſſing in the higheſt Perfection, a quick and ready Apprehenſion, a ſtrong and tenacious Memory, a profound and penetrating Judgment, a juſt and noble Eloquence, with an eaſy and graceful manner of Speaking. To theſe were added, a ſingular Zeal and Affection for the Good of the Commonwealth, and a Reſolution and Courage, not

to

to be ſhaken or diverted from the Publick Service. He had been removed by the late King from being Treaſurer of the Navy, for performing his Duty in the Houſe of Commons, and being reſtored to that Employment by the Parliament, he freely contributed one half of the Profits, amounting to the Sum of Two thouſand Pounds yearly, towards carrying on the War for the Liberties of *England*. When that War was ended, he put the Receipt for the Navy in ſuch a way, that by Order of the Parliament, the whole Expence of that Office exceeded not One thouſand Pounds by Year; Men being brought by this means to underſtand, that they were not placed in Employments to ſerve themſelves, but to ſerve the Publick. And that this Conduct was not miſtaken, the Succeſſes of our Arms by Sea againſt *Portugal*, *France*, *Holland*, and other Enemies, did abundantly manifeſt. When *Cromwel* had treacherouſly advanced himſelf upon the Ruins of the Commonwealth, he would not be induced by any means to favour or countenance his Uſurpation, chuſing rather to ſuffer Impriſonment and other Hardſhips, than to comply with Tyranny under any form. Upon the return of King *Charles*, being conſcious to himſelf of having done nothing in relation to Publick Affairs, for which he could not willingly and chearfully ſuffer, he continued at his Houſe in *Hampſtead* near *London*; where under falſe and

un-

unworthy Pretences, that he had engaged in Councils with ſome of the Army to drive him out of *England* again, he was ſeized and impriſoned in the *Tower*; from whence he was carried from one Place to another for the ſpace of about two Years; after the expiration of which, they who feared his Abilities, and knew his Integrity, thought convenient to violate the publick Faith, and under a Form of Law to put him to death.

The King of *France*, who had been fully informed of the Importance of the Town of *Dunkirk*, which had been acquir'd by the Arms of the Common-wealth; and that his Brother of *England*, notwithſtanding the vaſt Sums he had received from the People, ſtill wanted more to ſupply the Exceſſes of his way of Living, tempted him with the Offer of between Three and four hundred thouſand Pounds for that Place, which after ſome Difficulties was accepted, the Bargain ſtruck, and the Town ſurrendred to the *French*: An Action ſo infamous that it wants a Name, rendring him equally contemptible both to Proteſtants and Papiſts, and ſo aſtoniſhing in the Eyes of all *Europe*, that no Man on this ſide the Sea would believe it poſſible, till they found it confirm'd from all Parts, that the *French* were actually enter'd into Poſſeſſion.

About the ſame time a Treaty was concluded between *England* and *Holland*, the Foundation

tion of which having been laid in the Blood of our three Friends before-mention'd, the Superſtructure was raiſed with the like Materials; and the *Dutch* agreed to an Article, importing, That if any, who had been the Judges of the late King, or otherwiſe excepted from the Benefit of the Act of Indemnity, ſhould be found within their Territories, they ſhould upon demand be forthwith delivered into the Hands of ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the King of *England* to receive them: And that if any other Perſons of the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould at any time be demanded by the King, the States obliged themſelves to ſurrender them alſo, in caſe they ſhould be found in that Country fourteen Days after ſuch demand made.

In the mean time the *Engliſh* Court knowing themſelves to be fallen under the Hatred and Contempt of the People for their Cruelty, Immorality and Corruption, aggravated by the late ſale of *Dunkirk*, reſolved by the contrivance of a Plot to diſarm their Enemies, and provide for their preſent Safety. To this end by the means of Major General *Brown* and others, Mony was advanced and Arms put into the Hands of ſome Perſons, among whom one *Bradley* who had formerly belonged to *Cromwel* was the Principal, that by giving ſmall Sums to indigent Officers of the late Army, and by ſhewing the Arms they had ready, they might engage them and others

in this pretended Deſign. An Account of this Plot was printed and publiſhed, affirming, That divers thouſands of ill-affected Perſons were ready, under my Command, to ſeize the *Tower* and the City of *London*; then to march directly to *Whitehall* in order to kill the King and *Monk*, with a Reſolution to give no Quarter to any that adhered to them, and after that to declare for a Common-wealth. By this means one *Baker*, who had been of the Guard to *Cromwel*, and ſince the disbanding of the Army had been reduced to grind Knives for a poor living, having received half a Crown from *Bradley*, and promiſed his Aſſiſtance when there ſhould be occaſion, was executed with ſome others for this Conſpiracy. However this ſerved the Court for a Pretence to ſeize five or ſix hundred Perſons; to diſarm all thoſe they ſuſpected; to require thoſe they had taken to give Bonds of 200 *l.* each, not to take up Arms againſt the King, and to increaſe their ſtanding Guards. They were not aſhamed alſo to give out, that their Meſſengers had been ſo near to ſeize my Perſon, that they had taken my Cloak and Slippers, and committed two Gentlemen to the *Tower* for accompanying me, as they ſaid, to the Sea-ſide in order to my eſcape; tho' at the ſame time they knew ſo well where I was, that they had employ'd Inſtruments to procure me to be aſſaſſinated in *Switzerland*, which was diſcovered to a Merchant of *Lauſanna*

ſanna by a Perſon of Quality living in theſe Parts, who had refuſed ten thouſand Crowns offered to him on the part of the Dutcheſs of *Anjou*, Siſter to his Gracious Majeſty, if he would undertake that Province.

The Earl of *Antrim*, an Iriſh Papiſt, and one who had been concerned among the firſt in the Rebellion of that Country, having been ſeized at *London*, as I mentioned before, and afterwards ſent Priſoner to *Ireland*, was ordered by a Letter under the King's Hand and Seal to be cleared and ſet at Liberty, charging the Guilt of that Rebellion upon his Father, and affirming in the ſaid Letter, *That the Earl of* Antrim *had not done any thing, without Warrant and Authority from the King his Father*; tho' it was well known that he had his Head and Hands deeply and early engaged in that bloody Work. Thus the Maſk was openly taken off, in confidence, that a People deprived of their Leaders, diſpirited by the late Executions, and awed by the Authority of a complying Houſe of Commons, would not be able to ſhew their Reſentment.

In the Months of *September* and *October* 166 , we had a conſiderable addition to our Company by the arrival of Mr. *William Say*, Colonel *Biſco*, Mr. Serjeant *Dendy*, Mr. *Nicholas Love*, Mr. *Andrew Broughton*, Mr. *Slingsby Bethel*, and Mr. *Cornelius Holland* at *Lauſanna*. The three Gentlemen firſt named having paſſed by *Bern* in their Journey to us

had made a Viſit to Mr. *Humelius*, the principal Miniſter of that Place, who having a competent knowledge of the Engliſh Tongue, had been highly kind and ſerviceable in procuring the Order of the Lords of *Bern* for our Protection. By him they were entertained with all manner of Civilities, and informed that we were at *Lauſanna*, which gave us an opportunity of returning our Acknowledgment for his Favour to our Friends and Countrymen, with our Deſires that he would be pleaſed to preſent our humble Thanks to their Excellencies for their honourable Protection; being obliged to uſe this way rather than any other, not only becauſe of the Reſpect he had acquired in that Place by his ſingular Merit, but becauſe we were not ſufficiently acquainted with the Language of the Country, to make our Addreſſes to the Government. Upon the return of his Anſwer to our Meſſage we perceived that he had performed our Deſires with great Affection, and that it was the Opinion of our beſt Friends there, and in particular of Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger*, that for many Reaſons it would be more convenient for us to remove to *Vevay*, than to remain longer at *Lauſanna*. Having received this Advice, ſix of us, after we had taken leave of the Magiſtrates, who expreſſed their Sorrow for our departure, quitted our Reſidence and went to *Vevay*; but Mr. *Phelps* and Colonel *Biſco* having bought Goods at *Geneva*, and other Places, reſolved to try if

by

by Trading in *Germany* and *Holland*, they could improve the Stock of Mony they had. Mr. Serjeant *Dendy* and Mr. *Andrew Broughton* choſe rather to continue at *Lauſanna* than to remove with us, yet promiſing to make us frequent Viſits where-ever we ſhould reſolve to fix our Habitation.

At *Vevay* we were received with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Affection both from the Magiſtrates and People: The publick Wine was preſented to us in great abundance, and the next Morning the Banderet or principal Magiſtrate, accompanied by moſt of the Members of the Council, came to the Place where we lay to give us a Viſit; expreſſing themſelves ready to ſerve us to the utmoſt of their Power; giving us Thanks for the Honour they ſaid we did the Town in coming to reſide among them; and aſſuring us, That tho' they were ſufficiently informed concerning our Perſons and Employments both Civil and Military, yet the principal Motive that inclined them to offer their Services in ſo hearty a manner was, the Conſideration of our Sufferings for the Liberties of our Country. We returned our Thanks as well as we could; and the next Day having retired to a private Houſe belonging to one Monſieur *Dubois* who was one of the Council of the Town, we were again viſited by the Magiſtrates and preſented with Wine, with Aſſurances that their Excellencies of *Bern* had

cauſed them to underſtand, That they would take the Civilities they ſhould do to us, as done to themſelves. They acquainted us alſo, That Seats were order'd for us in both their Churches; That the *Commander*, as they name him, was directed to accompany us the firſt time to the one, and the *Chatelain* to the other. Theſe Favours ſo conſiderable, ſo cordial and ſo ſeaſonable, I hope a Man in my Condition may mention, without incurring the charge of Oſtentation.

The endleſs Prodigality of the Engliſh Court, the Perſecution of the Diſſenters, the Sale of *Dunkirk*, the Articles exhibited in Parliament by the Earl of *Briſtol* againſt the Chancellor *Hyde*, and the Factions enſuing on that Account, together with many other Cauſes of Diſcontent and Diviſion, had ſo alienated the Affections of the People from their King, that the beſt Judges were of Opinion, that if a favourable Conjuncture ſhould happen, they would be as ready to ſhake off the Yoak, as they had been fooliſh and inconſiderate in putting it on: And our Friends in all Parts began to entertain hopes that they might be again employ'd to reſcue their Country from Servitude. In this poſture of Affairs, Colonel *Algernon Sidney*, who, when *Monk* acted his treacherous part in *England*, was one of the three Plenipotentiaries that had been ſent by the Parliament to mediate a Peace between the Two Northern Crowns,

which

which they effected in Conjunction with the like number impowered by the States of *Holland* to that end; and ſince that time had reſided at *Rome* and other Parts of *Italy*, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that if an opportunity ſhould offer, he might not be wanting to his Duty and the publick Service. In his way he was pleaſed to honour us with a Viſit in our retirement in *Switzerland*, aſſuring us of his Affection and Friendſhip, and no way declining to own us and the Cauſe for which we ſuffer'd. He favour'd us with his Company for about three Weeks, and at his departure preſented me with a Pair of Piſtols, the Barrils of which were made at *Breſcia* in *Lombardy* by old *Lazzarino Cominazzo*. Deſigning to go for *Flanders*, where he reſolved to paſs the enſuing Winter, he took his Journy by the way of *Bern*, doing all the good Offices he could for us with the Advoyer and other principal Magiſtrates, aſſuring them of the great Senſe we had of their Excellencies Favours, and of our Deſires to have our Acknowledgment preſented to them in the beſt manner; not forgetting to let them know, that they would oblige a conſiderable part of the good People of *England* by their Kindneſs and Civilities to us. He had a long Conference with the Advoyer about the Affairs of *England*, and in a Letter written to me from *Bern* he acquainted me, that he thought he had left him and others in a Temper rather to add than

diminiſh their Favours to us. But upon the whole Matter our Noble Friend adviſed that ſome of us, who might be beſt able to travel, ſhould go to *Bern*, and pay our Complement to the Government in our own Perſons, intimating that ſo generous and publick a Favour deſerved a publick Acknowledgment. Having imparted this Advice to our Friends, Mr. *Nicholas Love*, and Mr. *Andrew Broughton* (who tho' uſually reſiding at *Lauſanna* was then with us) offered their Company; but Mr. *Liſle* made many Objections againſt this Undertaking at that time; ſo that we Three were obliged to go to *Bern* in the Name of the reſt of the Company. Being arrived there we went firſt to wait on our good Friend Mr. *Humelius*, who received us with great Affection, and expreſſed his Joy for the Reſolution we had taken to preſent our Thanks perſonally to their Excellencies. We deſired of him that ſome Means might be found to make our Addreſſes with as little Ceremony and Noiſe as poſſible, which he approved, and promiſed to ſee Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* the ſame Evening, and to conſult with him, in order to ſerve us according to our Deſires, aſſuring us that the next Morning we ſhould hear from them. In conformity to his Promiſe Mr. *Humelius* came to us in Perſon, with Aſſurances from the Treaſurer of his Affection and Services; acquainting us, That we ſhould have the liberty of making our Acknowledg-

ment

ment to the Council of *Bern* in our own manner, either by Speech or Writing, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to us. Upon which, conſidering our Inability to expreſs our Selves in the *French* or *German* Language as was requiſite on ſuch an Occaſion, we reſolved to do it in Writing. Having agreed upon this way, we accompanied Mr. *Humelius* to ſee his Children, as he called them, who were Orphans of both Sexes, born of poor Parents, and bred up by the Magiſtracy in a Place ſet apart for that purpoſe, all manner of Neceſſaries being provided for them, 'till they ſhould be capable of being employ'd in ſuch Trades as were proper for Perſons in their Condition. From thence we retired to prepare our Addreſs, which we agreed to preſent in the *French* Tongue as follows.

Illuſtres

Illuſtres, Hauts & Puiſſans Souverains & Trez honorez Seigneurs.

" AYant eſte contraints par l'etrange Revolution des Affaires d'Angleterre (le " lieu de noſtre Naiſſance) pour eviter l'orage " qui nous menacoit & tous les gens de bien, " de quitter noſtre Patrie, apres que nous y " avions fait noſtre poſſible pour l'avancement " de la glorie de Dieu & le bien de la Republique, nous avons trouve une Aſſiſtance " particuliere du *Tout Puiſſant*, en ce qu'il a " diſposé Vos Excellences a nous ſecourir & " proteger au temps de noſtre adverſité. C'eſt " cette faveur que deux de nos Compatriotes " & un de nous ont deja experimenté par la " protection particuliere quil a plu a Vos Excellences de leur accorder, les autres ſe repoſans ſur la Generale, que toutes perſonnes pieuſes & paiſibles obtiennent ſous le " Gouvernement juſte & favorable de Vos " Excellences.

" Comme nous ſommes obligez d'Addreſſer " nos voeux au *Seigneur* pour le remercier " d'une Grace ſi particuliere; Auſſi, afin de " temoigner a Vos Excellences juſqu'ou va " noſtre reſſentiment, nous avons pluſieurs fois " prié quelques Seigneurs de Voſtre Illuſtre

" Senat,

" Senat, de vous l'assurer de nostre part. Mais
" ayant depuis esprouvé les effets de vostre
" bonté d'une maniere extraordinaire, nous
" avons cru estre obligé de rendre personelle-
" ment ce devoir a Vos Excellences. C'est ce
" que font a present deux d'entre nous, de
" nostre propre part & de celle de ceux qui
" ont este conservé par Vostre protection Ge-
" nerale ; Et un de nostre nombre, de sa
" propre part, & de celle de Monsieur Guil-
" laume Cawley, a qui Vos Excellences ont
" fait la Grace de donner une protection par-
" ticuliere ; qui est tresaffligé que les infirmi-
" tez corporelles qui l'accompagnent, le pri-
" vent du bien & du contentement qu'il au-
" roit receu, s'il eust pu avoir l'avantage de
" vous temoigner sa reconnoissance en per-
" sonne.

" Comme nous avons pris cette occasion
" pour Vous donner des assurances du ressen-
" timent que nous avons de tant de bonté qu'il
" a plu a Vos Excellences de nous temoigner,
" nous prenons aussi ce temps pour vous assurer
" de nostre Obeissance, & de la grande passion
" que nous avons de vous en pouvoir donner
" quelques marques considerables, si Dieu
" nous en donne l'Occasion, dont nous ne
" desesperons point. Cependant nous pri-
" erons l'Eternel qu'il vueille fortifier Vos
" Excellences de plus en plus a le servir, jus-
" ques a ce qu'ayant parachevé le cours de
" cette Vie, vous veniez a recevoir la Cou-
" ronne

" ronne qui eſt preparé pour ceux qui le
" craignent

Illuſtres, Hauts & Puiſſans Soverains,
& tres honorez Seigneurs,

Vos Serviteurs Tres humbles
& Treſobeiſſants,

Edmond Ludlow, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

To the Illuſtrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns, and moſt honoured Lords, their Excellencies of *Bern.*

HAving been conſtrained by the late extraordinary Revolution of Affairs in England, *the Place of our Birth, for avoiding the Storm that threatned us and the good People there, to quit that Land, after we had uſed our utmoſt Endeavours for the advancement of God's Glory and the Good of our Country, we find cauſe to admire the Goodneſs of the Almighty, for inclining Your Ex-*

Excellencies to ſuccour and protect us in this time of our Diſtreſs. This Favour two of our Country-men, and one of our Number, have already received, by virtue of thoſe particular Protections which it has pleaſed Your Excellencies to grant; the reſt of our Company relying on the General One, that all pious and peaceable Perſons enjoy under Your Excellencies righteous and juſt Government.

As we eſteem our ſelves obliged to bleſs God for this ſignal and eſpecial Favour; ſo alſo to teſtify to Your Excellencies our grateful Acknowledgment, we have divers times deſired ſome of the Honourable Lords of this Illuſtrious Senat to preſent You with our moſt humble Thanks. But every day more and more experiencing the Effects of Your Goodneſs and Favour, we have thought our ſelves obliged perſonally to pay this Duty to Your Excellencies. This two of us do at this time for our ſelves, and in the behalf of others who have been preſerved by virtue of your general Protection; and one of us for himſelf and on the part of Mr. William Cawley, *one of thoſe, to whom Your Excellencies have been pleaſed to grant a particular Protection; who finds himſelf ſenſibly afflicted, that the Infirmities of his Body do now deprive him of the Happineſs and Satisfaction he ſhould have received if he could have tender'd his Duty in Perſon.*

Having taken this Occaſion to teſtify the deep Senſe we have of Your Excellencies Favours, we deſire leave to aſſure You of our Obedience, and the

Am-

Ambition we have to give ſome ſignal Teſtimony of our Gratitude to Your Excellencies, if God ſhall favour us with an Opportunity, of which we do not deſpair. In the mean time, That God will fortify Your Excellencies in his Service, till having finiſhed your Courſe in this World, You ſhall receive the Crown prepared for thoſe that fear him, *ſhall be the Prayer of*

Illuſtrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns,
and moſt honoured Lords,

Your moſt humble and moſt
obedient Servants,

Edmund Ludlow, &c.

We had ſcarce finiſhed this Paper, when Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger*, accompanied by Mr. *Humelius*, came to our Lodging; and having acquainted us that he ſhould not have failed to be with us in the Morning, if the publick Affairs had not required his Preſence at the Council, he made us the Offer of his Services in a moſt affectionate manner, and declared his Reſolution to aſſiſt us to the utmoſt of his Power; expreſſing his Deteſtation of the late Action of the States of *Holland*, in delivering up our Friends into the Hands of their mortal Enemies, and purchaſing the Security of their Trade

Trade with ſo much Shame to themſelves. When we had anſwered his Civilities in the beſt manner we could, and given him our Thanks for the Offers of his Favour, we ſhewed him the Paper above-mentioned; which having peruſed and approved, he deſired Mr. *Humelius* to accompany us to the Advoyer (or Preſident of the Council, by whoſe Hands all Addreſſes paſs to their Excellencies) and took his leave for that time.

The Advoyer being informed that we were waiting to preſent our ſelves to him, gave Orders for our admittance, and received us with great Kindneſs, expreſſing his Senſe of the Juſtice of that Cauſe which we had defended, and for which we then ſuffered, together with the Eſteem, which he aſſured us their Excellencies in general, and himſelf in particular, had of our Perſons. We deſired him to believe, That we had the deepeſt Senſe of His and Their Excellencies Favour, attributing the Civilities and Reſpect we had received as well from the Magiſtrates as from the People in all Places within the Territories of their Excellencies, to the Bounty and Favour of the Government towards us: To which he replied, That he was very glad, their Officers and others of their Subjects had ſo well performed their Duty. Then proceeding to acquaint him with the occaſion of our coming to *Bern*, I delivered the Addreſs into his Hands, with our humble Deſires that it might be preſented

ſented to their Excellencies; which when he had read and intimated that my Name was not unknown to him, he aſſured us with much Affection, That he would not fail to preſent it to their Excellencies, and to return a ſpeedy Anſwer. I would have ſaved him that Trouble, and therefore told him that we expected no Anſwer, and deſired no more than their Excellencies acceptance of our humble Acknowledgments. But he ſaid we ſhould have an Anſwer; accompanying us, when we took leave, to the outward Gate, not permitting us to prevail with him to the contrary.

Having diſpatch'd this Buſineſs, we went to take a View of the publick Buildings, particularly that, where the Senate and Council of Two hundred are uſed to aſſemble. The Chambers are oppoſite to each other, and divided by a narrow Paſſage, on both ſides of which are Rooms for the reception of ſuch as have any Affairs in either of thoſe Places. From thence we were conducted to the *Arſenal*, where we ſaw a Train of Artillery conſiſting of about One hundred Pieces of all kind of Ordnance, with Ammunition and all Things neceſſary. There were Arms, as I conjectur'd, ſufficient for about Twenty thouſand Foot, and a proportionable number of Horſe. But I confeſs nothing that I ſaw gave me greater Satisfaction, than to find a Statue erected in one of the Chambers of the *Arſenal*, to the Memory of *William Tel*, who may

in great meaſure be called, The Founder of this Common-wealth. For when a certain Knight called *Griſler*, who was Governor of *Vry* and *Suitz*, after many repeated Acts of Tyranny, had wantonly cauſed a Cap to be ſet on the top of a Pole in the Market-place of *Altorf*, commanding all thoſe who ſhould paſs that way to uncover their Heads, and to pay the ſame Honours to the Cap, as if he himſelf had been there preſent in Perſon; *William Tel* refuſed to obey, and for his Diſobedience was ſentenced by *Griſler* to be put to Death, unleſs he could with one Arrow hit an Apple that ſhould be placed on the Head of his Son. To this hard Condition he was compelled to ſubmit, and on the Day appointed, in the preſence of the Governor, ſtruck the Apple with his Arrow from the Child's Head. But *Griſler* having obſerved that he had brought with him two Arrows, tho' he might uſe no more than one; and deſiring to be informed why he had ſo done, *William Tel*, upon the Governor's Promiſe that he ſhould not be put to Death, acknowledged, That if he had killed his Son with the one, he would have reveng'd his Blood on the Tyrant with the other. The Governor conſcious of his own Crimes, and therefore fearing the Reſolution of ſuch a Man, tho' he would not put him to Death, reſolved to impriſon him during Life; and to that end cauſed him to be tied and thrown into a Boat, with intention to ſee him

ſecurely laid in the Dungeon of the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cuſnach*. After they had been ſome time upon the Lake of *Ury*, a violent Storm ariſing, the Governor finding his Life in great danger, and knowing *Tel* to be an expert Waterman, cauſed him to be unbound, that he might help to ſave the Lives of himſelf and Company. This he undertook to do, and ſteering towards *Suitz* brought the Boat ſo near the Shoar, that taking up his Croſs-bow which lay by him, he leaped out upon a Rock, (called to this Day *The Stone of* Tel) puſhed off the Boat with his Foot, and made his Eſcape into the Mountains. In the mean time the Governor lay floating in his Boat upon the Water, and not without great danger and difficulty at laſt arrived in the Port of *Brunn*, from whence he continued his way to *Cuſnach*; of which *William Tel* being informed, and well acquainted with every part of the Woods and Hills, he poſted himſelf in a private Place by which the Tyrant was to paſs, and with his Croſs-bow ſhot him dead upon the Spot. The Succeſs of this Action ſo animated the reſt of his Aſſociates who had formed a Deſign to reſtore the Liberty of their Country, that on a Day appointed they ſeized their Governors, demoliſhed the Caſtles where they lived, baniſhed them and their Families, and bravely freed themſelves from that Tyranny which they could not bear. Beſides the Statue of *William Tel* taken in full proportion, ſtanding with

with a Croſs-bow in his Hand, and aiming at an Apple on a Child's Head, there is alſo a Statue of the firſt Advoyer, with two more, of Perſons who were principally eminent in eſtabliſhing the Common-wealth, armed *de cap en pied*, and one of them on Horſeback, to encourage others to defend that Liberty which their Anceſtors had purchaſed for them.

This Night as we were at Supper we received a Complement from the Advoyer, accompanied with a Preſent of Wine; and the next Morning an Order was brought to Mr. *Humelius*, who was then with us, from their Excellencies of *Bern*, written in the *German* Tongue, which being tranſlated by him into *Engliſh* contained as follows:

September *the* 3*d*, 1663.

*CO*ncerning *the three* Engliſh *Gentlemen, who have for ſome time reſided at* Vevay, *and have this Day preſented in our Aſſembly of Council their Thanks for our Protection formerly granted to them*; *'tis reſolved, That they ſhall be ſaluted on our part with a Preſent of Wine, and that Mr. Treaſurer* Steiger, *with Mr.* Kilberger *and you our* Doyne, *do acquaint them with our Affection and good Will to them, and aſſure them of the continuation of the ſame for the time to come.*

Mr. *Humelius* after he had read this Order, informed us that the Gentlemen therein mentioned, with ſome other Magiſtrates, deſigned to dine with us that Day, and had deſired him to accompany them. Accordingly between Eleven and Twelve Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger*, Colonel *Weiſs*, and one more of the 24 Senators, in the room of Mr. *Kilberger*, who was diverted by ſome publick Buſineſs, attended by the Grand *Sautier* with his Mace, and three other Gentlemen, came to us at our Lodging; where after about an hours Diſcourſe, Mr. Treaſurer being informed that the Dinner was ſet upon the Table, invited us to go down into the Hall, and with great Civility placed our Company, which being done he order'd the Grand *Sautier* to lay aſide his Mace. After we had ſat about a quarter of an hour, two Officers clothed in their Excellencies Livery brought in the Preſent of Wine that had been order'd, upon which one of the three Gentlemen who came with Mr. Treaſurer ariſing from the Table, harangued us in the Name of their Excellencies; concluding with an aſſurance of the continuation of their Favour. To this we thought our ſelves obliged to anſwer, That as we ow'd our Lives and Liberties to the Protection of their Excellencies, we reſolved to ſacrifice all in their Service, when we ſhould be ſo happy to find an Occaſion.

Dinner

Dinner being over, a Queſtion was ſtarted by Colonel *Weiſs*, How it came to paſs, that We, who for many Years had the whole Power of the Three Nations in our Hands, were removed from the Government without ſhedding one drop of Blood? To which I anſwer'd, That for the right underſtanding of the Affairs that had lately paſſed in *England*, it would be neceſſary to take up the Matter from the beginning. But they preſſing me to favour them with ſome Account of thoſe Tranſactions, I told them with all the Brevity I could, " That moſt of thoſe Perſons who " had firſt engaged in the War, having made " their own Peace, had endeavour'd to de- " liver Us and the Cauſe it ſelf into the Hands " of our Enemies; and tho' they had many " Opportunities to have ended the Diſpute by " deſtroying the King's Army, they neglected " all, and only endeavoured to reduce the " Crown to their own Terms. This was vi- " ſible in the Conduct of the Earl of *Eſſex* on " ſeveral Occaſions, and in that of the Earl of " *Mancheſter* after the Battle of *Newberry*, who " tho' he had Twenty thouſand Men in his " Army, fluſh'd with that Victory, yet ſuf- " fer'd the King with Seven thouſand only, " to carry off the Cannon he had left at a Place " which ſtood near the Ground where he had " been routed a few Weeks before, without " once offering to attack him, giving this at a " Council of War for the Reaſon of his re-

" fuſing to fight, *That if the King were beaten*
" *twenty times by us, he would be ſtill King; but*
" *if he ſhould once beat us, we ſhould be all treat-*
" *ed as Traytors:* For which being accuſed in
" the Houſe of Commons, tho' they thought
" not convenient to proceed againſt him cri-
" minally; yet upon this and divers other
" Conſiderations, they removed him, toge-
" gether with the Earl of *Eſſex* and the reſt of
" the Nobility from their Commands in the
" Army, making choice of Commoners to fill
" their Places, whoſe Intereſt they knew it
" was to take away the Monarchy it ſelf. By
" this means they ſoon put an end to the
" War, ſentenced the King to die for the
" Blood that had been ſhed, eſtabliſh'd a Free
" Common-wealth, brought their Enemies at
" home to ſubmit to their Authority, and re-
" duced thoſe abroad to accept ſuch Terms as
" they would give. In the midſt of all this
" Proſperity they were betray'd by *Oliver*
" *Cromwel*, whom they had entruſted with the
" Command of their Army; who, having
" moulded the greateſt part of the Officers to
" his purpoſe, by calumniating the Parlia-
" ment, propoſing Advancement to the Am-
" bitious, and deluding the Simple with a
" Shew of Religion; back'd by the aſſiſtance
" of the Clergy and Lawyers, (who had
" been threatned by the Parliament with a
" Reformation of their Practices) ejected his
" Maſters, and uſurped their Authority;

" en-

" endeavouring during the five Years of his " Reign, to ruin all that had been faithful to " the Intereſt of the Common-wealth, and " advancing thoſe who would not ſcruple to " ſacrifice their Conſciences to his Ambition. " By theſe ways the Army became ſo cor- " rupted, that tho' after the Uſurper's death " they had been perſuaded with great diffi- " culty to depoſe the Son, and to permit the " Reſtitution of the Parliament, yet they " were ſoon after induced, under frivolous " Pretences, to offer Violence to them a ſe- " cond time; which rendring them odious " to the People, gave an opportunity to *Monk*, " by declaring for the Parliament, to divide " their Councils, and to render them uſeleſs. " And when the Parliament had in Gratitude " for their Reſtitution conferr'd many unde- " ſerved Favours upon *Monk*, he alſo, who " had been a Creature of *Cromwel* and ad- " vanced by him, betray'd his Truſt, and " contrary to many Proteſtations, Oaths and " ſolemn Aſſeverations, brought a great num- " ber of Perſons to Vote in Parliament who " had formerly been ejected by the Houſe, " which turn'd the Ballance from the ſide of " the Common-wealth, and under the Influ- " ence of his Forces brought in the Son of the " late King.

Tho' the brevity of this Account would not admit of that Clearneſs and Perſpicuity which I could have wiſh'd; yet our generous

Friends were not only willing to pardon the Imperfections, but gave me Thanks for the Information they ſaid I had given them of our Affairs, expreſſing themſelves deeply ſenſible of the Troubles that had fallen upon us and the honeſt Intereſt by ſo baſe a Treachery.

After this Converſation the Senators riſing from their Seats, we gave them Thanks for the Honours they had been pleaſed to do us, and according to our Duty offered to accompany them to their reſpective Habitations. But theſe truly noble Perſons would by no means permit us; and being deſirous that their Favours to us ſhould be yet more publick, they invited us to go to the Church, that all Men might ſee they were not aſhamed to own what they had done. To this end Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* having ordered the Mace to be carried before him, conſtrained me to take the right Hand, Monſieur *Humelius* and Colonel *Weiſs* doing the like to Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Broughton*, obliging us to enter the Church before them, and placing us in the moſt honourable Seats; neither could we prevail with them to go out before us from the Place of publick Worſhip, or to permit us to accompany them to their Houſes. The next Day we went to wait on the Advoyer who was then prepairing for his Embaſſy to *France*, where he and another Perſon were appointed to repreſent the Canton of *Bern*; and having acquainted

acquainted him with the deep impreſſion their Excellencies and his Favours had made upon us, he expreſſed himſelf highly ſenſible of our Condition, and heartily deſirous of our Reſtitution, with Aſſurances of his farther Services on all Occaſions, and promiſing the like Favour and Protection to as many of our Countrymen as ſhould come to them. At our taking leave he accompanied us to the outward Gate as in the firſt Viſit, and when we told him he had exceeded in the Honours done to us, he condeſcended to ſay, That in his own account he had never received ſo much Honour his Life. After this we paid our Reſpects and Thanks to Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger*, to the ancient Bailif Monſieur *Lentulus*, to Colonel *Weiſs*, and to our true Friend Monſieur *Humelius*, with divers others of the Senate and Council. And being deſirous to wait alſo on General *D'Erlach*, who, we were informed, had much favour'd us in the Buſineſs of our Protection, we went to his Houſe; but he was gone out of Town, and we had not the Advantage to ſee him at that time.

Having been thus ſucceſsful in our Affairs at *Bern*, we returned to our Reſidence at *Vevay*, where we had not been long, before we were informed, That an *Iriſh* Man going under the Name of *Riardo*, and belonging, as he ſaid, to the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, was arrived at *Turin*, and had formed a Deſign againſt

againſt our Lives; and that Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, ſince the late Revolution called Lord *Hollis*, and at that time Ambaſſador in *France*, had been with one Monſieur *Lullin*, who was Agent at *Paris* for the Republick of *Geneva*, to deſire Satisfaction for a Book which he ſuppoſed to be printed in that Place, in favour of thoſe who had been condemn'd for putting the late King to death. But that which alarum'd us moſt, was a Report, That Letters had been ſent from the King of *England* to their Excellencies of *Bern*, to demand our Perſons. Of this Information having given an Account to Mr. *Humelius*, and deſired him to uſe his diligence in finding out the Truth of theſe Things; We ſoon received in anſwer, That he had heard nothing of the two firſt; and as to the laſt, he aſſured us that no Letters of that ſort from *England* were yet come to the Hands of their Excellencies; but if ſuch a Thing ſhould happen, he would not fail to give us timely Notice and Advice, for our government on ſuch an occaſion. By a ſecond, which we received from him ſoon after, he informed us, That General *D'Erlach* had acquainted him with the arrival of a Courier from *France*, who had brought Letters for their Ambaſſador, together with particular Orders to inform himſelf, whether their Excellencies of *Bern* might by any means be induced to deliver us up, or at leaſt to withdraw their Protection from us. But not finding the Ambaſſador in the

the Country (he having taken a Journy to the Court of *France*, to be preſent at the Reception of the *Swiſs* Ambaſſadors, who had been ſent thither to ratify the Treaty lately concluded with that King) he was returned to *Paris*, and had carried his Letters back with him. And I am inclined to believe that our Enemies, upon Information of the honourable Reception we had found from their Excellencies, were intirely diſcouraged from attempting any thing in that way, and therefore turned their Malice againſt us into Deſigns of Violence and Aſſaſſination.

Divers Letters from *Turin*, *Geneva*, *Lyons*, and other Places, which we and our Friends at *Vevay* received, were full of Advices from thoſe Parts, that ſo many and ſuch deſperate Perſons had engaged againſt us, that it would be next to impoſſible to eſcape their Hands: And one of my beſt Friends, who was then at *Geneva*, ſent a Meſſenger Expreſs to me with a Letter to inform me, That he had received a Billet from a Perſon who knew our Friendſhip, and deſired not to be known, with theſe Expreſſions at the end, *If you wiſh the preſervation of the Engliſh General at* Vevay, *let him know, That he muſt remove from thence with ſpeed, if he have any regard to his own Safety.* We alſo received certain Information, That *Riardo* had been ſeen in the *Pais de Vaux*, and in ſeveral parts of *Savoy*. Being ſomewhat alarum'd with theſe Things, our Company met, in order

der to conſult what was fit to be done on this occaſion, and ſoon came to a Reſolution, That we would not remove into any Country that was governed by a Monarch, leaſt we ſhould be guilty of our own Blood, by ſeeking Protection from thoſe who were concerned in Intereſt to deſtroy us. It remained only to conſider, whether we ſhould quit the Place of our preſent Reſidence for any other under the ſame Government; or whether we ſhould remove from the Territories of *Bern* to ſome other Republick. The firſt we were unwilling to do for many Reſpects, and particularly on account of the good Will and Affection that the People had expreſſed to us: And to the ſecond we could by no means conſent, becauſe the Protection of their Excellencies, had been ſo frankly, publickly and generouſly extended to us. So that having determined to remain at *Vevay*, and being informed that a Fair would be kept there in a few Days, we contented our ſelves with changing our Lodging for one Night, and procuring the Guard of the Town to be doubled during the Day of the Fair, leaſt our Enemies ſhould diſguiſe themſelves, and mixing with the concourſe of People paſs unſuſpected, till they might find an opportunity of ſurpriſing us.

According to our Information, ſome of the Villains who were employ'd to deſtroy'd us, had on the Fourteenth of *November* 1663.

paſſed

paſſed the Lake from *Savoy*, in order to put their bloody Deſign in execution the next Day as we ſhould be going to the Church. They arrived at *Vevay* about an hour after Sun-ſet, and having divided themſelves, one part took up their Quarters in one Inn, and the other in another. The next Day being *Sunday*, Monſieur *Dubois* our Landlord going early to the Church, diſcovered a Boat at the ſide of the Lake with four Watermen in her, their Oars in order, and ready to put off. Not far from the Boat ſtood two Perſons with Cloaks thrown over their Shoulders, two ſitting under a Tree, and two more in the ſame poſture a little way from them. Monſieur *Dubois* concluding they had Arms under their Cloaks, and that theſe Perſons had way-laid us, with a deſign to murder us as we ſhould be going to the Sermon, pretending to have forgotten ſomething, returned home and adviſed us of what he had obſerved. In his way to us he had met one Mr. *Binet*, who acquainted him that two Men whom he ſuſpected of ſome bad Intention, had poſted themſelves near his Houſe, and that four more had been ſeen in the Market-place; but that finding themſelves obſerved, they had all retired towards the Lake. By this means the Way leading to the Church through the Town being cleared, we went to the Sermon without any Moleſtation, and ſaid nothing to any Man of what we had heard, becauſe we had not yet certainly found

that

that they had a Deſign againſt us. Returning from Church I was informed, That the ſuſpected Perſons were all dining at one of the Inns, which excited my Curioſity to take a view of the Boat. Accordingly I went with a ſmall Company, and found the four Watermen by the Boat, the Oars laid in their Places, a great quantity of Straw in the bottom of the Boat, and all Things ready to put off. About an Hour after Dinner I met our Landlord, and having inquired of him concerning the Perſons before-mentioned, he aſſured me they could be no other than a Company of Rogues; that they had Arms under the Straw of the Boat; and that they had cut the Withes that held the Oars of the Town-boats, to prevent any purſuit if they ſhould be forced to fly. But theſe Ruffians who had obſerved the Actions of Monſieur *Dubois*, and ſuſpected he would cauſe them to be ſeized, came down ſoon after I had viewed the Boat, and in great haſte cauſed the Watermen to put off, and returned to *Savoy*. This Diſcovery being made, the Chatelain, the Banderet, together with all the Magiſtrates and People of the Town, were much troubled that we had not given them timely notice, that ſo they might have been ſeized. We afterwards underſtood that one *Du Poſe* of *Lyons*, Monſieur *Du Pre* a *Savoyard*, (of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely) one *Ceriſe* of *Lyons*, with *Riardo* before-mention'd, were part of this Crew,

Crew, and that *Riardo* paid the whole Expence they made at *Vevay*.

The Bailiff, the Chatelain and the whole Council, ſhewing themſelves highly ſenſible of this Affront offered to the Government of their Excellencies, and of the Injury done to us, the Banderet gave Order that the Boats of the Town ſhould be ready to attack them in caſe they ſhould return to make any Attempt againſt us. They not only offer'd us a Guard for the Safety of our Houſe, but condeſcended to tell us, That they were ready to do that Office themſelves. The Bailiff directed the Chatelain to require all the Inn-keepers every night to give an account upon Oath, either to him or to Monſieur *Dubois* our Landlord, of all Perſons that ſhould come to lodge at their Houſes; and the Council of the Town order'd, That no Burgeſs ſhould entertain any Man, for whom they would not anſwer. Their Excellencies of *Bern* alſo being informed of this Attempt, ſent their Orders to the Bailiffs of *Lauſanna*, *Morges* and *Vevay*, to take eſpecial care of our Perſons, and to ſearch all Boats coming from *Savoy*, of which they ſhould have any Suſpicion.

Monſieur *Du Pre* finding himſelf diſappointed in this Enterprize, and fearing that for this Affront to their Excellencies of *Bern*, he might be deprived of the Profits of ſome Lands lying within their Territories, of which he had lately taken Poſſeſſion after a long Suit

at

at Law in the right of his Wife, and which had been ſequeſtred from him, becauſe he had violently carried her out of their Country before Marriage, procured one of my good Friends at *Geneva* to write to me on his Behalf, and to inform me that he had no otherwiſe engaged in this Affair than to do me Service. Our Landlord alſo being unwilling to provoke him any farther, knowing the deſperate Reſolution of the Man, deſired that if I ſhould write to any of my Friends at *Bern* concerning this Attempt, I would only name *Riardo*, who was confeſſed to be the principal Undertaker. But tho' I thought it not proper for us to be the Accuſers and Proſecutors of thoſe who were concerned in this Deſign; yet being not able to ſee any Reaſon to do as was deſired in his behalf, I reſolved to leave the whole Matter to the Wiſdom of their Excellencies; who after they had received the Report of thoſe in our Parts, to whom they had committed the Examination of this Affair, being aſſured that Monſieur *Du Pre* was one of that number, ſeized again into their Hands the Eſtate he had enjoy'd in the right of his Wife.

Our Enemies ſtill giving out in all Places where they durſt, That they would not deſiſt till they had effected their Deſign, I received a Letter from a good Friend in which I found theſe Words. *You are hated and feared more than all the reſt of your Companions: Your Head*

is

is ſet at a great Price: 'Tis againſt you they take all this Pains to find Aſſaſſins, and 'twas on your account they contrived the late Attempt; ſo that upon the whole Matter I cannot but adviſe, that you would reſolve to retire to ſome place where you may be unknown, there being, in my Opinion, no other way left to ſecure you from the rage of your Enemies. But having ſtrength'ned our Houſe, and made the beſt Proviſion we could for our Defence, being aſſured of the Affections both of the Magiſtrates and People of the Town, and the Government having given me Power to ring the Alarum-bell upon occaſion, and to that end contrived it ſo that I could do it from my own Chambers, our Lodgings joining to one of the Gates, I reſolved not to remove; eſpecially conſidering that thoſe who had made the late Attempt, being for the moſt part well known, had render'd themſelves uncapable of returning again to *Vevay*: Whereas if we ſhould have removed to any other Place, the ſame Perſons would have found greater facility to execute their Deſign. As to that part of the Advice, tending to perſuade me to go to ſome Place where I might not be known, I knew it was in vain to think of finding any ſuch within the Territories of their Excellencies, and out of them I reſolved not to depart.

In the mean time I was informed by Letters from *England*, That *Riardo* having been at that Court to give account of the ill Succeſs

of the late Attempt againſt us, was not only well received by the King, but diſpatched with new Orders to carry on the ſame Deſign; and that in his paſſage through *France* he had been with the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, who was the principal Inſtrument uſed by his Gracious Majeſty for incouraging and carrying on this Manly Attempt. I was alſo aſſured from *France* that in a Letter to that King, he had acquainted him, That not thinking himſelf ſafe ſo long as the principal Traytors were alive, he deſired his Aſſiſtance to ſeize or deſtroy thoſe that were on that ſide the Sea, and particularly thoſe in *Switzerland*.

In proſecution of the Orders that had been ſent from their Excellencies of *Bern*, the Bailiff of *Morges* having notice that one of the Watermen who had brought the Aſſaſſins from *Savoy* to *Vevay* was in that Town, cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Chillion*, which is the Place of Reſidence for the Bailiff of *Vevay*. On the firſt of *January* we were invited by the Bailiff to a publick Entertainment in the Caſtle, and by that means were preſent at his Examination. For ſome time he confeſſed nothing material; but being found to contradict himſelf in his Anſwers, and therefore threatned with the *Strappada* by the Bailiff and the Baron *de Chatteler*, he ſeeing the Cord made ready, informed them, That one Monſieur *De la Broette*, and Monſieur *Du Fargis*, both *Savoyards*, were

were among thoſe who came in the Boat with *Du Pre*, and that one of the four Watermen was the Perſon who cut the Withes of all the Town-boats to prevent them from purſuing; adding, that *Du Pre* told them at their return to *Savoy*, That if they had ſucceeded in their Enterprize they ſhould have had Mony enough; but conſtantly denying, that he knew any thing of the Deſign till it had miſcarried.

Yet neither the care of the Government to provide by their Juſtice for our future Safety, nor the diſappointment of the Aſſaſſins in their late Attempt, could remove the Fears our Friends had entertained of new Deſigns againſt our Perſons, or perſuade them to believe that we could be ſafe whilſt we remained in the Place where we were. Among others, Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* wrote a Letter to the Bailiff of *Vevay*, in which he deſired him to perſuade us to remove our Quarters either to *Iverden*, *Lauſanna*, or ſome other Place that was near the Center of their Excellencies Territories, where they might be better able to defend us, than he doubted they could at preſent, by reaſon of the Advantages that the Situation of the Lake afforded to our Enemies, who, he ſaid, might come by Water from *Savoy*, or *Verſoy* a Place belonging to the *French*, to the foot of our Garden-Wall without fear of Surprize or Diſcovery; aſſuring him, that having been the firſt Adviſer of our

Settlement at *Vevay*, if any Ill ſhould happen to us whilſt we continued in that Place, he ſhould account himſelf the moſt unhappy Man in the World. The Bailiff having communicated this Letter to me, I anſwered, That our Company was extreamly obliged to Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* for the Care he expreſſed to be upon him for our Safety; but that our Diſeaſe being intirely Perſonal and not at all Local, we ſhould, in my Opinion, be ſo far from mending upon the change of Air, that I feared we ſhould render our Condition worſe, by going to a Place where we were not known, and putting our ſelves under the neceſſity of making new Friends, which by the Favour and Goodneſs of the Magiſtrates and People we had already acquir'd at *Vevay*; that therefore we ſhould willingly acquit Mr. Treaſurer and all our Friends from the Blame of whatever might befal us, and take the Conſequences of our ſtay upon our Selves. With theſe and other Reaſons the Bailiff, and by his means the reſt of our Friends were ſo well ſatisfied, that we heard no more from them on that account.

About this time I received a Letter from one Monſieur *De la Fleſchere*, a near Relation of that Monſieur *Du Pre* who was one of the Twelve that came to aſſaſſinate us at *Vevay*, in which he declared his Deteſtation of that Villany, and promiſed to inform me from time to time of what he ſhould learn of their Deſigns;

Deſigns; acquainting me of their Intentions to attack us in our way to the Church which was without the Town, and therefore adviſing that I ſhould go ſeldom thither, and never without Company and well armed. He counſell'd us by all means to keep together, and not to ſeparate as he was informed we intended to do, and that we ſhould continue in the Place where we were, becauſe the Lake was a great Impediment to our Enemies Deſigns, who, he ſaid, aſſured themſelves of Succeſs in their Enterprize, if we ſhould go to *Tverden*, *Lauſanna*, or any other Place, from whence they might make their Eſcape on Horſeback.

Divers other Advertiſements of Deſigns againſt us coming to our Hands about the ſame time, moſt of them naming me to be the Perſon, againſt whom the Malice was principally directed, and inſinuating, that the reſt of our Company were brought into hazard chiefly on my account, Mr. *Liſle* either really was, or pretended to be ſo alarum'd, that he withdrew himſelf from us and went to *Lauſanna*, under colour, that expecting a Viſit from his Lady in the Month of *May* next enſuing, he was unwilling ſhe ſhould come to *Vevay*, leaſt it ſhould prove prejudicial to her after her return to *England*. Before he left us, he made his Will, and took leave of the Magiſtrates, and of all his Friends in the Town in a ſolemn manner. At our parting, I took

liberty to desire him to take the best care he could of himself, and not to be too confident of his Security, upon supposition that I was the only Person mark'd out for Destruction; since he well knew, that at a Consult held by our Enemies at *Chatillon*, they had inquired after him as well as my self: I adjur'd him therefore to be upon his guard, lest presuming too much upon Safety, he might betray himself into their Hands.

Soon after the departure of Mr. *Lisle*, I received advice by the means of Monsieur *de la Fleschere*, that *du Pose* and *Cerise* of *Lyons*, with one *St. Du*, had been at *Tunno*, a Place lying upon the Lake, to confer with *du Pre*, *de la Broette* and *du Fargis*, about resuming their former Design, and that they had passed most part of the night in the Wood of *Courent*, where it had been at last resolved, That they would come no more to *Vevay* by the way of the Lake; but that the next Attempt should be made by a smaller number of Persons on foot, with Horses kept ready to receive them, and to carry them off either by the way of *Chillion*, *St. Dennis*, or *Lausanna*; of all which I gave notice to Mr. *Lisle*, who with others of our Friends and Countrymen was then at *Lausanna*.

About eight Days after, one Monsieur *du Moulin* of *Vevay*, going towards *Lausanna*, discovered in a Lane not far from the Lake on the way of *Safron*, three Persons well mount-

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ed and armed, with one on foot, and thinking them to have no good Design, he sent a Servant to observe them, who upon his return confirming him in his Suspicion, Monsieur *du Moulin* dismounted, and taking up the foot of his Horse to induce them to believe he only wanted a Shooe, he returned immediately to *Vevay*. But they suspecting themselves to be discovered, and that he was returned to give us notice, as indeed he was, made so much haste away, that before the People of the Town could reach the Place where they had been seen, they were arrived at *Safron*; and having a Boat, which had brought them in the Morning from *Savoy*, lying ready to receive them, they by that means made their escape. They had sent two Persons on foot into the Town to assassinate me by stabbing or shooting, and these Horsemen were to have carried them off, as we afterwards understood: But that the Town being raised by the Information of Monsieur *du Moulin*, they also had thought convenient to shift for themselves.

On the 21st of *July* 1664. we were informed, That some *Savoyards* had landed in the Harbour of *Ouches* belonging to *Lausanna*, and had let fall some Words of a Design against the English there. Upon which some of their Friends having notice, went to the Burgomaster in order to procure his Warrant to seize and bring them to be examined before

him. But the Burgomaſter refuſing to do any thing in the Matter without the advice of the Bailiff, they went to the Caſtle; where, finding the Bridge drawn up, they thought not fit to trouble him that Night. The next Morning they went again to the Caſtle, and having acquainted the Bailiff with what they had heard, he preſently granted his Warrant, and order'd the Fiſcal to ſummon the *Savoyards* before him. But they having notice of what was doing, got into their Boat and were put off, before the Warrant could be ſerved upon them. Yet it was ſuppoſed, that if the Town-boats had been order'd to purſue them, they might eaſily have ſeized and brought them in; for they were within Musket-ſhot of the Shore when the Officer came to the Port with the Warrant, the Lake very rough, and the Wind directly in their Teeth. However I muſt not omit, that theſe Villains had been ſeen to ſtand by the Door of the Church, where Mr. *Liſle* uſed to go, all the time the People were going in to the Sermon; but neither he nor any of our Countrymen coming to the Church that Morning, they departed in a Rage, one of them ſaying, *Le B..gre ne viendra pas*; which Words tho' they were not obſerved at the time, yet were afterwards too well underſtood.

Mr. *Liſle* having received Advice from the Lieutenant Balival that a certain Frenchman, who uſed to engrave upon Seals and Diſhes

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at *Vevay*, *Lauſanna*, and other Places, had informed theſe *Savoyards* of the way they ſhould take for the execution of their wicked Deſign, procured an Officer of Juſtice to demand him at his Lodging in *Lauſanna*; where being informed that he was gone to *Vevay*, a Meſſage was diſpatch'd to me, that I might cauſe him to be ſeized. Accordingly the Bailiff, at my Requeſt, granted a Warrant for taking him in Cuſtody. But he having heard how things had paſs'd at *Lauſanna*, and ſuppoſing the Alarum to be over, was returned thither. Of which the Government of that Town having advice, they cauſed him to be ſeized and carried before the Burgomaſter, who after a ſlight Examination, contented himſelf with baniſhing him from their Juriſdiction. And now Mr. *Liſle* began to think that he had not much better provided for his Security by abandoning *Vevay*.

On the *Wedneſday* of the ſame Week, two Men in the Habit of Grooms mounted upon good Horſes came to lodge at an Inn in *Vevay*; of which our Landlord having received notice, (according to an Order of the Bailiff and Chatelain formerly ſignified to all Inn-keepers) he went to the Houſe where they were, and upon Examination was aſſured by them, that they belonged to a *German* Count who was then at the Bathes in the *Pais des Vallees*; that they were by his Order come to this Place to wait his return, and that they had already

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ſent a Meſſenger to acquaint him with their arrival. Being not able to draw any more from them, he came home, and having acquainted me with what had paſs'd, earneſtly deſired that I would be upon my guard. In the mean time theſe pretended Grooms continued at *Vevay* till the *Thurſday* in the following Week, when one coming from the Bathes before-mentioned, aſſured, That no ſuch Perſon, as theſe Fellows deſcribed, had been there; which added to a threatning Meſſage ſent by our Landlord to the Innkeeper for entertaining ſuch Rogues, they haſtned away and went to *Lauſanna*.

On *Thurſday* the 11th of *Auguſt*, 1664. one Monſieur *Longeon* of *Lauſanna*, brought me the ſad News, That Mr. *Liſle* going that Morning to hear the Sermon in the Church that ſtood near the Town-gate, was ſhot dead by a Perſon on foot, who had a Companion waiting for him on Horſeback with a led Horſe in his Hand, which the Murderer having mounted and cried *Vive le Roy*, they immediately rode away together towards *Morges*. Soon after this barbarous Murder was committed, we underſtood from *Lauſanna* by the deſcription of the Perſons, their Clothes and Horſes, that they were the ſame that had lodged at *Vevay*. They had continued for a Week in *Lauſanna* before they found an opportunity to put in execution their deteſtable Plot, and had carried themſelves with ſuch In-

Indiſcretion, that divers Perſons ſuſpected them to have a Deſign againſt the Engliſh; of which Mr. *Liſle* being informed, he ſent his Landlord twice to try what he could draw from them. But they had ſo well contrived their Story, that he could find no colour to remove them. Many Perſons upon ſuſpicion of theſe Fellows had deſired Mr. *Liſle* to be upon his guard, and to forbear going to the Church he uſed; becauſe it lay ſo near the Town-gate, that if any Perſons ſhould make an Attempt againſt him, they might with little difficulty eſcape by that way. Our Countrymen alſo who were with him performed the ſame Office; but he would by no means hearken to their Advice, ſaying he was in the Hands of God, and had committed himſelf intirely to his Protection; adding to this Anſwer, that my Life was his Defence, and that 'till our Enemies had diſpatched me, he aſſured himſelf they would not think of him. The Villain that murdered him had waited his coming at a Barber's Shop, where he pretended to want ſomething for his Teeth, till ſeeing Mr. *Liſle* at diſtance he ſtept out of the Shop, and as he came by, ſaluted him. Then following him into the Church-yard, he drew a Carabine from under his Cloak, and ſhot him into the Back. With the recoil of the Piece the Villain's Hat was beaten off, and he himſelf falling over a piece of Timber, dropp'd his Gun, which he left behind him, and

and as ſoon as he had recovered himſelf, running to his Companion who held the led Horſe, he mounted and made his eſcape. Thus died *John Liſle*, Eſq; Son to Sir *William Liſle* of the Iſle of *Wight*, a Member of the Great Parliament, one of the Council of State, Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, and one of the Aſſiſtants to the Lord Preſident, in the High Court of Juſtice that was erected for the Trial of the late King. The Government of *Lauſanna* was ſo remiſs in the purſuit of the Aſſaſſins, that it was ſuſpected they had ſome Friends among them. And of this the Villains themſelves ſeemed to give proof; for before they had advanced half a League on their way, calling to ſome Men who were working in the Vineyards, they bid them give their Service to the Governors of *Lauſanna*, and tell them they would drink their Healths. But the common People openly cried out againſt the Burgomaſter, and accuſed him of having favoured the Aſſaſſins. And that I may do Juſtice to the Bailiff of *Lauſanna*, who had been abſent for ſome time from the Town upon publick Buſineſs, I muſt not omit, that, when he heard of the Aſſaſſination of Mr. *Liſle*, he ſaid, That if he had been at *Lauſanna*, thoſe Villains ſhould not have continued ſo long there without Interruption.

Upon this we received a great number of Letters from our Friends in ſeveral Parts, to inform us of the rage of our Enemies, and of their

their Reſolution to leave no means of deſtroying us unattempted, ſome of them having affirmed, That if they could not accompliſh their Deſign either by Stabbing, Poiſoning or Shooting, they were reſolved to attempt us even in our Lodgings. Theſe Advices, together with the death of Mr. *Liſle*, ſo alarum'd my Companions at *Vevay*, that I found it difficult to bring them to any certain Reſolution, every one making a different Propoſition touching the way we ſhould take to provide for our Safety; tho' for my own part I thought nothing ſo rational, as to fortify our Intereſt in that Place, where the Magiſtrates and People had been always more ready to oblige and ſerve us, than we could be to ask any Favour from them. To this end, with the Concurrence of my Country-men, which I at laſt obtained, I went to Monſieur *Geoffray*, who was then Chatelain and Deputy-Bailiff of *Vevay*, acquainting him with the Letters we had lately received, and he readily offering to do whatever ſhould be in his Power for our Service, I propoſed, That, conſidering the Deſign of our Enemies was either to ſurprize us, as they had done in relation to Mr. *Liſle*; or, (all other Means failing) to attempt us by open Violence; for prevention of both, Orders might be iſſued out to the Town of *Vevay*, and to the other Towns and Villages of that Juriſdiction, to ſeize and examine ſuch Perſons as they ſhould find cauſe to ſuſpect; and

that

that upon the ſound of the great Bell at *Vevay*, upon the firing of a great Gun, or the view of a Fire upon any of the Towers of the ſaid Place, they ſhould take Arms, ſecure the Paſſes, and ſeize all unknown Perſons in order to carry them before the Bailiff; and that if theſe Signals ſhould happen to be given in the Night, they ſhould be appointed to repair with their Arms to our Lodgings at *Vevay*, to receive ſuch Orders as ſhould be neceſſary. The Chatelain approved the Propoſition, and deſir'd, That ſuch an Order might be prepared, promiſing he would ſend it to the Bailiff to be ſigned; which being drawn up and ſent to the Caſtle of *Chillion*, the Bailiff moſt readily ſigned four Orders of the ſame Tenour, and directed them to *Vevay*, *Moutre*, the *Tower* and *Bloney*, with Injunction that they ſhould be publiſhed two ſeveral times in the Market-places, and before the Churches of the ſaid Places, that none might pretend cauſe of Ignorance. This worthy Perſon, as he had done us great Honour upon all Occaſions, ſo at this time finding us to be extraordinarily perſecuted, he reſolved to ſhew us more than ordinary Marks of his Favour; and therefore when he came to Town, accompanied by the Baron *de Chatteler* and Monſieur *l'Hoſpitalier* of *Villa Nova*, he was pleaſed to make us a Viſit, and to honour us with his Company at Dinner, expreſſing his abhorrence of the Baſeneſs and Treachery of our Enemies, and aſ-

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ſuring us of his Friendſhip and Services to the utmoſt of his Power.

But Mr. *Say*, notwithſtanding theſe Aſſurances and the Care he ſaw taken by our Friends for our preſervation, would by no means be perſuaded to think himſelf ſafe whilſt he continued in theſe Quarters, where we were all ſo publickly known, and therefore reſolved to retire to ſome Place where he might be *incognito*; and to that end, accompanied by Colonel *Biſco*, prepared to depart for *Germany*, earneſtly preſſing me to the ſame Reſolution, and profeſſing himſelf to be as much concerned for my Safety as for his own. I gave him my Thanks for his Friendſhip; but acquainted him that I thought it much better to be in a condition of making oppoſition againſt my Enemies, than to live in the perpetual Fear of being diſcovered; with which being ſatisfied, he took leave, after he had aſſured me that if we ſhould continue at *Vevay* till the next Spring he would make us a Viſit.

The Court of *England* being informed of the Aſſaſſination of Mr. *Liſle*, that King procured one Dr. *Colladon*, a Native of *Geneva* then reſiding at *London*, to write to one of his Relations in theſe Parts for a particular Information of that Action, and to inquire of the ſame Perſon if I continued ſtill at *Vevay*, or had removed to *Zurich*, as was reported; which Particulars being too well known to him,

him, to need any ſuch Information, it may be juſtly conjectured, that this Meſſage was ſent to no other end, than to feel the Pulſe of the Gentleman, that by his Anſwer he might know, whether he were a fit Perſon to be employ'd in his honourable Deſigns. Upon the reception of this Letter, the Perſon to whom it was directed, being a Man of Probity and Honour, not only gave Advice to our Friends of the Contents, but proteſted that if he had a thouſand Lives, he would loſe them all, before he would do us the leaſt Injury, utterly refuſing to give any Information touching the Things that were demanded. Monſieur *de la Fleſchere* alſo was pleaſed to continue his Care of our Safety, adviſing us, That his Kinſman Monſieur *du Pre*, accompanied by *du Broetti*, and *du Fargis*, had lately given a meeting at *Yvian* to one of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Guard who uſed to come into our Parts; and that a certain Frenchman living at the ſame Place, was alſo ſuſpected to be of their Gang. He added, That tho' he had received a thouſand Aſſurances from *du Pre* that he would never make any farther Attempt againſt us, yet he would not believe him, much leſs would deſire us to rely upon his Word, but rather that we ſhould be conſtantly upon our Guard, eſpecially in conſideration of what had lately happened to our Countryman at *Lauſanna*.

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This was the laſt Meſſage we received from Monſieur *de la Fleſchere*, who without any Obligation laid upon him on our part, from the Motives of Humanity and true Goodneſs, had been ſo generouſly ſerviceable to Perſons he never ſaw. For many days had not paſs'd, before we were informed, that a Difference ariſing between this Gentleman and *Du Pre*, whoſe Siſter he had married, a certain Gentlewoman of *Tunno*, with whom *Du Pre* was too familiarly acquainted, undertook to make up the Diſpute; to which Monſieur *de la Fleſchere* conſenting, and comeing to her Houſe for that purpoſe, was there ſhot into the Body by *Du Pre*, and afterwards diſpatch'd with a Stilletto. But this not being done without Noiſe, divers Perſons came about the Door to enquire what was doing; to whom the Gentlewoman anſwering, That there had been no other Diſturbance in the Houſe, than what had been made by ſome Children, they preſently departed. Night being come, *Du Pre* went out; and after a ſhort ſtay, brought two Country-men with him, and compelled them to take up the Body, and to lay it at the Door of an infamous Houſe in the ſame Town, threatning to kill them if they diſputed his Commands, or ſhould afterwards reveal the Secret. And that it might be believed that his Brother-in-Law had been ſo uſed for endeavouring to effect ſome bad Deſign, *Du Pre* went after

them to the Place where they laid the Body, and firing a Piſtol, left that and a Sword upon the Ground by him: This Hypocrite ſeemed to be much concerned for his Death, and in deep Mourning accompanied him to the Grave; proteſting to his Siſter, that he would willingly expend a great Sum of Mony to find out the Murderer. Yet this Mask was ſoon taken off; for the Parliament of *Chambery* in *Savoy*, having been informed of this Murder, and deputed ſome of their Number to make Inquiry into the Matter, they, by the Depoſitions they received, ſuſpecting *Du Pre* to have been the Author, ſent to ſeize him; but he having notice of their Intentions, had made his Eſcape before the Officers could reach the Houſe where he was.

In *England*, the Presbyterians had been long before ejected from all the Benefices they poſſeſs'd, and rewarded in the current Mony of thoſe, for whoſe ſake they had betray'd their Friends: The Priſons had been frequently fill'd with all ſorts of Men diſſenting from the Church, eſtabliſh'd by the Act of Uniformity: The People had been exhauſted by frequent and exceſſive Taxes to ſupply the Luxury of the Court: Great numbers of the Officers of the old Army had under falſe or frivolous Pretences been impriſon'd or executed: Many of the Iriſh Rebels had been reſtored to the Lands that had been ſettled upon the Engliſh for the Reward of their Ser-

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vices and Blood: Plots had been contrived to furniſh the Court with a Pretence to Tranſport thoſe they feared, to remote and barbarous Confinements; and the deſign of ſubverting the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, was become manifeſt.

In this Poſture of Affairs, the Court of *England* thought fit to declare War againſt the States-General of the United Provinces; by means of which, ſome of our Friends conceiving great Hopes of the Reſtitution of the Common-wealth, enter'd into a Treaty with divers Principal Miniſters of that Country, for procuring ſome Forces to join with our oppreſſed Party in *England*, againſt the Common Enemy. Having received Information of this Treaty, and being preſſed by a Perſon of Honour and Integrity to declare my Concurrence in the thing, I acquainted him, That tho' I ſhould be ready to embrace any good Occaſion of ſerving the Common-wealth, and relieving my Country from Oppreſſion; and that I had no great Reaſon to be a Friend to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, yet the Treachery of the Dutch, in delivering our three Friends into the Hands of their Enemies, made me fear the ſame Treatment from them in caſe of an Accommodation with *England*. For if they had purchaſed their former Agreement with the Price of that Blood, I could ſee no Reaſon to perſuade me that they would not purchaſe another with ours: I told him, That

all Men knew they preferr'd the Profits of Trade before any other thing in the World; and how dangerous it might prove to engage with ſuch a ſort of Men, I left to his Judgment to determine; that being convinced in Conſcience, that they had contracted the guilt of the Blood of our Friends upon themſelves, my Duty would not permit me to act in conjunction with them, till they ſhould make Satisfaction for that Injuſtice: However, I offer'd that if they might be brought to diſown that Action, as done by the influence of a particular Faction, and promiſe, at a more convenient time, to Puniſh the immediate Authors, I would freely hazard my Life in the Expedition.

In the mean time I received a Letter from Mr. *Say*, who was then at *Amſterdam*; in which, among other things, I found theſe Expreſſions;

" Believe me, Sir, things are ſo well pre-
" pared here to anſwer the good Ends we all
" deſire, that nothing ſeems to be wanting
" but Hands to ſet the Wheels going. In-
" vitations and Incouragements are not only
" offered, but preſſed upon You; and there
" is no ground to fear their Retreat, of which
" You ſeem to doubt. The ruin of the pre-
" ſent Government in *England* is certainly in-
" tended, and I have cauſe to believe will be
" effected; the States being unanimouſly for
" this

" this War, and at laſt brought to ſee that
" their Common-wealth cannot long ſubſiſt,
" if Monarchy continue in *England*. Of this
" they will ſoon give the cleareſt Evidence,
" as well as of their Reſolution to aſſiſt the
" Common-wealth Intereſt as far as ſhall be
" deſired; in which they ſeem to be no leſs
" Zealous, than how to defend themſelves.
" As to the Uſage our three Friends met with
" in this Country, I have examined the Par-
" ticulars, and find the thing to have paſſed
" in a different manner than has been repre-
" ſented: They are able here to give You
" or any Perſon Satisfaction, that the matter
" does not lie ſo foul upon them, as is gene-
" rally conceived; and would, if it might be
" any way conducing to the Advantage of
" our Affairs, ſet that Buſineſs in its true
" Light. But this is not thought adviſable
" at preſent by many of our Friends, who
" think ſuch a Courſe may too much alarum
" the Court of *England*, and put them upon
" Meaſures of procuring Peace at any rate.
" The King of *England* is never mentioned
" without the utmoſt Contempt, and Writ-
" ings every day publiſhed to expoſe his Per-
" ſon and Government. You may propoſe
" what You pleaſe for your Safety, and I
" dare anſwer it ſhall be granted: Only I
" muſt take leave to tell You that the moſt
" private manner of Treating is beſt appro-
" ved by our Friends. The Offers they make

" here are very great, and yet no Promiſes
" exacted from Us for their Security. There-
" fore I beg of You to think of ſeeing this
" place, and quitting the Quarters where
" You are, that You may be inſtrumental in
" the Service of Your Country at this time.
" I am certainly informed, That conſiderable
" numbers in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*,
" ſenſible of their preſent Servitude, will ap-
" pear for Us; and ſuch meaſures will be
" taken here for their aſſiſtance, that I have
" great hopes of Succeſs. Nothing ſeems
" now ſo much wanting as fixed Councils
" both here and in *England*, and no One can
" be more ſerviceable than Your Self in this
" important Matter: I beſeech You therefore
" let Us have Your help, for we cannot be
" without it, and I am perſwaded the Work
" will proſper in Our Hands. Make all the
" Expedition You can in Your Journy; for
" tho' this be not the conjuncture of Action,
" yet I am perſwaded 'tis high time to be
" preparing, and 'twill be to Our Shame if
" we neglect it.

About Eight Days after this, I received another from the ſame Perſon; in which, having deſired me to give credit to the Contents of his laſt, he added, That the *Heer Nieuport* had at a Conference aſſured him, That the Intentions of the Government of *Holland* were to relieve the good People in *England*;

England; and that he ſhould be glad of any Overtures to that purpoſe from me or any other Perſons; That there was more in the deſign of this War than was commonly underſtood, and that the deſtruction of the whole Proteſtant Party was intended: That ſome of the moſt eminent of that Religion in *France*, had ſent Meſſengers into *Holland* to give information of this Matter; adviſing, That the States would make the beſt preparations they could for their defence, and aſſuring, That if they ſhould be born down in this War, the Reformed Religion would ſoon be extinguiſhed in *France*: That the *Dutch* had Thirty Thouſand Men ready to put on Board their Fleet, of which number Ten Thouſand were Land Soldiers, and to be diſpoſed as we ſhould adviſe and direct: That a great Sum of Mony was prepared for this Service, and that the whole Fleet ſhould be commanded to favour Our Enterprize: That if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to tranſport Horſe into *England*, the States would willingly comply in that alſo, having reſolved to endeavour a perfect Friendſhip with the good People of *England*, which, he ſaid, he hoped ſhould never be broken. At the bottom of the Letter were theſe Words, I beg of you to lay aſide all former Prejudices, and as you love the Cauſe in which you have ingaged, come ſpeedily, and ſet your Heart and Hand to this Work. I can certainly aſſure you, That the moſt

conſiderable Miniſter of this State, has lately very much inquired for you, and having received ſome account of you, has given us reaſon to hope, That if you will come to them in this conjuncture, they will place you at the head of ſuch a number of Men, as ſhould by the Bleſſing of God, and the Concurrence of our Friends in *England*, be ſufficient to reſtore the Common-wealth. I dare aſſure you from the beſt information I can get, That on ſuch an Occaſion there would be a greater appearance for us, than at the beginning of the late War. Let me therefore not hear from you, but ſee you.

Tho' theſe Offers were very advantagious eſpecially to one in my Condition, and the Honour I received more than I could expect, yet theſe things, I thank God, were no temptation to me. The Cauſe of my Country which is dearer to me than my Life, was that alone which made me earneſtly wiſh, That I could have perſwaded my ſelf to lay hold of this opportunity, and to join with my Friends in this Enterprize for our common Deliverance. But the Reaſons before mentioned ſate ſo cloſe upon me; That I was conſtrained, not without great regret, to acquaint my Friends with my Intentions to perſiſt in my former Reſolution, not to enter into a conjunction of Counſels and Intereſts with the *Dutch*, till they had given ſatisfaction touching the Buſineſs of the three Gentlemen they

they had ſo inhumanly delivered into the Hands of our Enemies, together with ſome reaſonable aſſurances that they would not abandon the Concernments of ſuch as ſhould join with them.

In the mean time, a Perſon of Honour and Quality of the *Engliſh* Nation whom I had never ſeen, being then at *Paris*, took care to let me know by a third Hand, that the King of *England* ſuſpecting I would join with the *Dutch* againſt him, had cauſed the *Aſſaſſins* to double their Diligence, and that the Perſon who had murder'd Mr. *Liſle* was come to *Paris*, accompanied with others of the ſame Trade, and had undertaken either to carry me off alive, or to diſpatch me upon the place. St. *Du*, another of this Tribe, endeavoured alſo to engage one Monſieur *Torneri*, a Gentleman of *Savoy*, and my Friend, in the Deſign againſt me, promiſing him a great Recompence if it proved ſucceſsful. He dated his Letter from *Paris*, and deſired the Anſwer to be directed to one at *Lyons*. But Monſieur *Torneri* ſuſpecting him to be nearer to us than he would have it believed, and being deſirous to penetrate farther into their Secrets, told him in his Anſwer that Mony was not to be refuſed; but that I kept my ſelf ſo much upon my Guard, that nothing could be attempted without previous Conſultation. This Gentleman did me the favour to give me a ſight of the Letter and Anſwer,

Anſwer, with aſſurances of his Service, and a promiſe to ſend me St. *Du*'s Reply as ſoon as it ſhould come to his Hands. He informed me alſo that *Du Pre* had been degraded, and broken on the Wheel *in Effigie*, for the Murder of Monſieur *de la Fleſchere*; that his Eſtate in *Savoy* had been confiſcated, and that he was fled for protection to the Town of *Friburg*, and that he was countenanced by the Magiſtrates of that Place. Theſe things made me reſolve upon withdrawing from my Lodgings at *Vevay*, and lying privately for ſome time, that my Enemies might be amuſed, and uncertain how to lay their Deſigns; which having done, it produced the effect I deſired. For no ſooner had I withdrawn my ſelf from the publick View, but it was generally concluded that I was gone for *Holland*, which I conjecture might put a ſtop to the Deſigns againſt me for that time, and rendred my Country-men at *Vevay* more ſafe and undiſturb'd than they had formerly been.

During this retirement, I received Letters from my Friends in *England*, with Advice that four Perſons had been diſpatch'd by the King for our Parts with the accuſtomed Inſtructions; but hearing no more concerning them, I concluded they were either the Villains of whom I was already informed from *Paris*, or part of thoſe who had been ſent to *Ausburg*, with Orders from the ſame Hands to Aſſaſſinate Colonel *Algernon Sidney*; and probably

probably being Ten in number might have effected their Design, if having undertaken a Journey to *Holland* upon Business relating to the Publick, he had not removed from that Place before their Arrival. After I had continued about six Weeks privately with my Friends at *Lausanna*, I returned to my Quarters at *Vevay*, and had not been there above eight or ten days, before a *French*-man, well furnished with Mony, and Arms, came to one Monsieur *Du Fort*, a Merchant of *Vevay*, with a Letter Unsealed from a Trader of *Geneva*, who was little known to him, which contained an Account, That the Person who should bring him that Letter, having been prosecuted in *France*, for getting a Wench with Child, had desired to be known to some Persons in this Place, which he had chosen for his Retreat. Tho' such a Recommendation had been sufficient to have caused him to be Whipp'd out of the Town; yet other things contributed chiefly to his Removal. For it had been observed that he had acknowledged he came lately from *England*, and seemed to be well informed of the Affairs of that Court; that he was no less instructed of all the Circumstances of the Assassination of Mr. *Lisle*; that he intruded into all Companies, and had endeavoured to Lodge in several Houses that stood most convenient to discover our usual Walks; that he had expressed his Discontent, that no one would entertain him without

without the permiſſion of the Council, and had offered to pay double at certain Places for a Lodging. To this was added, That on a Market-day, having dreſſed himſelf in the Habit of a Buffoon, with a Basket on his Back, and Wooden Shoes on his Feet, he bought many things that were to be ſold at much more than the value, and gave them to the meaneſt of the People, drawing by that means many idle Perſons after him. Upon Conſideration of theſe things, the Chatelain, by Order of the Bailiff, went attended with his Officers to the Inn where he Lodged, and upon Examination, finding him unwilling to tell his Name, or Buſineſs in this Place, he acquainted him, That by reaſon of divers Attempts that had been made againſt the *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had been taken by their Excellencies into Protection, it had been reſolved that no Stranger ſhould remain at *Vevay*, without giving a good account of himſelf; which he having not done, had incurred the Conſequence, and therefore muſt reſolve to depart within the ſpace of Twenty four Hours. He was much diſturbed whilſt the Chatelain was preſent; but having recovered his Spirits by drinking Brandy after his departure, he hired a Boat for *Villa Nova*, pretending to go directly for *Milan*, but we were informed afterwards, that from *Villa Nova*, he turned ſhort to *Savoy*, and by the way of *Lyons* went to *Paris*.

Some

Some Publick Buſineſs requiring the preſence of Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* at *Vevay*, he came accompanied by Monſieur *Lentulus*, late Bailiff of *Lauſanna*, Commiſſary General *Godart*, and another Perſon of the Senat of *Bern*; and having diſpatch'd his Affairs, did us the Honour to make us a Viſit, in which having expreſſed great Kindneſs and Friendſhip, he informed us, That *Du Pre* had procured the Magiſtrates of *Friburg* to give inſtructions to Colonel *Pharamond*, and their other Deputies then at *Bern*, to ſollicit their Lordſhips for the Reſtitution of his Lands; but that the Council was ſo far from doing as he deſired, that they forthwith cauſed the Advoyer to iſſue out an Order to ſeize his Perſon if he ſhould come within the Territories of their Juriſdiction, and to ſend new Inſtructions to the Bailiff of *Morges*, for receiving his Rents, and employing them in Publick Uſes; directing the ſaid Treaſurer *Steiger* to give the Deputies an account of their Proceedings; which when he had done, and acquainted them with the Attempt *Du Pre* had made to Aſſaſſinate us, together with the Murder he had committed upon the Perſon of his Brother-in-Law, and many other Villanies of which he had been guilty, the Colonel ſaid, That he had not heard any thing of theſe Matters before; and deſiring to be excuſed, promiſed never to open his Mouth more in his behalf. The next Day we returned the Viſit we had received

ceived from the Treaſurer and his Company, and were moſt affectionately received, all of them expreſſing themſelves with the utmoſt Friendſhip, and aſſuring us of the care and favour of the Government.

Of this we had in a ſhort time the moſt evident Demonſtration; for their Excellencies of *Bern* having received information that *Du Pre* deſigned to take a Journy to a Place in *Burgundy*, called *Joigny*, they ſent out two Parties to lie upon the way; one of which meeting with him, and commanding him in their Lordſhips Name to ſurrender himſelf, he at firſt made ſome reſiſtance: But finding that way too hazardous, he clapp'd Spurrs to his Horſe, and when he was at ſome diſtance from the Guard, endeavouring to leap a deep and broad Ditch, he fell with his Horſe into the middle of it. Some People who were carrying in the Harveſt, ſeeing him in Diſtreſs, and not knowing that he was purſued by Publick Authority, haſtned to his Relief. But he being conſcious of his own Crimes, and therefore ſuſpecting all Men to be his Enemies, fired one of his Piſtols upon them, which provoked the Country-men to entertain him with Stones, till the Officers came up, and ſeized him. They found a Caſe of Piſtols at his Saddle, another pair at his Girdle, and a Carabine hanging by his ſide. In his Pocket was a Letter directed to him without any Name ſubſcribed, containing in ſubſtance,

That

That he ſhould inform himſelf where the great Whale or the little old Fiſh might be found; and give notice if any Publick Honours had been done to the memory of the *Engliſh* Gentleman who was kill'd at *Lauſanna*. The reſt of his Papers and Letters he had torn in pieces before he could be taken; but upon putting them together in the beſt manner that was poſſible, it appeared, That moſt of them had relation to the ſame Subject, and were full of malicious Expreſſions againſt the Government of *Bern*. He was carried to the Houſe of one Monſieur *De la Berchere*, a Gentleman living near the Place where he was ſeized, and being kept there all Night, he was the next Day brought Priſoner to *Tverden*, and committed to the Caſtle.

Their Excellencies having received information of the Seizing and Impriſonment of *Du Pre*, diſpatch'd Orders to their Officers at *Vevay*, to examin all Perſons upon Oath who might know any thing concerning the Attempt made againſt us, in which he had been a Principal Actor; and to tranſmit to them the Examination and Confeſſion of the Waterman which had been taken by the Bailiff at the Caſtle of *Chillion*. Whilſt the Evidence was preparing againſt him, great intereſt was made to their Lordſhips of *Bern* for their Favour to the Priſoner. But meeting with cold Reception from them, they applied themſelves to thoſe of *Tverden*, who were to give

the

the first Judgment in the Case. His Mother being admitted to speak with him in presence of the Guard, told him, That certain Fathers Capuchins would remember him in their Prayers. But he had another Game to play; and having already promised to quit the Romish Superstition, and to Educate his Son in the Reformed Religion, if by that means he might save his Life, answered, That he owned no such Persons to be his Fathers; that he needed not their Prayers, and that they might have enough to do if they would pray for themselves. By these and other Artifices that were used by himself and his Friends, the Officers of Justice at *Tverden*, were perswaded to Sentence him only to be banished, and to pay the Fine of One Hundred Pounds; But four of the Twelve who were his Judges Dissented from the rest, and not only Voted him worthy of Death, but Signed a Paper to that purpose, and presented it in their own Persons to their Excellencies, that they might acquit themselves from the Blame of this Proceeding. When the Judgment was presented to the Lords of *Bern* for their Approbation, they esteemed it to intrench upon their Sovereignty; in that an inferior Jurisdiction had taken upon them not only to moderate the Punishment, but also to ascertain the Fine. His Mother, and divers other Persons who had accompanied the Sentence to *Bern*, most earnestly sollicited to get it confirm'd; but because

cauſe Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* was to go to *Friburg* the next Day about ſome Publick Affairs, the Conſideration of this Buſineſs was deferr'd for ſeven or eight Days. At which time the Treaſurer being returned, the Cauſe was heard before their Excellencies; and after mature Deliberation, *Du Pre* was condemned to loſe his Head on the next enſuing *Monday*. The principal Crimes objected againſt him were, That he had ſtollen and raviſhed the Perſon he had ſince Married, who was Born, and reſided within the Juriſdiction of *Bern*; and that he had made an Attempt to Aſſaſſinate one or more of the *Engliſh* Gentlemen that were protected by their Excellencies. He denied that he had taken his Wife away in a violent manner, or that he deſigned to take away the Life of any other *Engliſh*-man except me. He ſaid alſo, That having reſolved to uſe him thus, they might have acquainted him ſooner with their Intentions, and not have incouraged him to ſuch a miſ-pending of his time as they had done. And indeed, tho' this could not juſtly be objected to their Excellencies, who deſigned no more than that he might be civilly entertain'd till the time of his Trial, yet divers of the Magiſtrates of *Tverden*, can by no means be excuſed, who drank and plaid at Cards with him in the Priſon. The Day appointed for his Execution being come, he was brought down; but the Terrors of Death, with the diſmal Reflections

upon his paſt Life, ſeized upon him to ſuch a degree, that he fell into a Rage, throwing himſelf on the Ground, biting and kicking thoſe that ſtood near, and asking if there were no hopes of Pardon. He was told that he ought to remember, That if he had been taken in his own Country where he had Murder'd his Brother-in-Law, and had been broken *in Effigie* on the Wheel, he ſhould not have been uſed ſo gently. He refuſed to go to the place of Execution any otherwiſe than by force; ſo that about two Hours were ſpent before he arrived at the place where he was to Dye, tho' it was within Musket-ſhot of the Priſon. Here the Executioner put a Cap on his Head, and placed a Chair that he might ſit; but he took off the Cap and threw it away, and kick'd down the Chair among the People. When the Executioner ſaw this he tied his Hands between his Knees, and having aſſured him, That if he perſiſted in his Reſiſtance, he would cut him into forty pieces, after about an Hours Conteſt, he at laſt performed his Office.

Soon after this, Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* accompanied by our Bailiff and ſome Gentlemen of *Bern*, was pleaſed to make us a Publick Viſit, leaving the Officers that attended him, who were Fifteen or Sixteen in number at our Gate, to the end as he informed us, That the People obſerving the Conſideration and Favour we received, might be quickened in their

their Duty upon any occaſion that might happen. He gave us an account of the Proceedings againſt *Du Pre*, and informed us, That when the Watermen of *Morges* had carried his Mother back to *Tunno*, and thoſe of that Place had taken the liberty to cenſure the Juſtice of *Bern*; Madam *de la Fleſchere*, the Widow of our good Friend and Siſter to *Du Pre*, coming to meet her Mother at the Water ſide, had preſently ſilenc'd them, and openly ſaid, That tho' he was her Brother, yet ſhe acknowledged their Excellencies had done nothing in relation to him but that which was moſt juſt. In this Converſation he informed us alſo, That being in *Italy* in the Year 1643. when the War between the late King and the Parliament was, as he expreſſed it, moſt inflamed, he had there ſeen a Bull from the Pope, for incouraging all good Catholicks to take Arms for the King againſt the Parliament, promiſing that thoſe who ſhould loſe their Lives on his ſide in that Quarrel, ſhould go forthwith to Heaven. Which is ſo plain that it needs no Comment.

By this time, my Friends in *Holland* began to think they had been deluded with vain hopes from that People; but being unwilling to take the Shame of their Credulity upon themſelves, they reſolved to lay the Blame upon me; alledging, That thoſe of the States who had treated with them, having inquired why I was not come to *Holland*, and receiv-

ing no ſatisfactory Anſwer, had concluded we were not agreed among our ſelves, and on that account would not proceed to finiſh the Treaty. Whereas indeed the true Reaſon was, That they were ſtill in hopes of patching up a Peace with *England*, or if that ſhould fail, they promiſed themſelves the Aſſiſtance of *France*, whoſe Intereſt ſeemed to be very different from ours. Accordingly the King of *France* being ſollicited by the *Dutch* to make good the laſt Treaty with that State, and finding he could not procure a Peace for them, withdrew his Ambaſſador from *London*, and declared War againſt *England*: Soon after which a Declaration of War was alſo publiſhed in *London* againſt the *French* King, and entertained by the People with great Joy, the Mayor and Aldermen attending on the Proclamation in their Habits of Ceremony.

On occaſion of this War, one Monſieur *Stuppa*, a Native of the *Griſons*, formerly a Miniſter, and at that time an Officer in the *French* Service, was ſent into his own Country to raiſe Men; and having performed his Commiſſion, reſolved to paſs by *Vevay* in his return to *Paris*. Being come to this Place, he procured ſome of my Friends to deſire me to give him a meeting, to which I conſented. After ſome general Diſcourſe upon the preſent Conjuncture, he acquainted me, That tho' he had no expreſs Orders either from *France* or *Holland* to make any propoſition to me; yet he

he acknowledged, That the *Dutch* Ambaſſador then reſiding at *Paris*, had ſo far opened himſelf, as to tell him, That his Maſters deſigning nothing more in this War than to ſecure themſelves from ſuch double Dealing as they had met with from the *Engliſh* Court; and their Quarrel not being againſt the People, but only againſt the King of *England*, he hoped I might be brought to Act in Conjunction with them for the good of my own Country. Then he proceeded to ask what grounds there might be to hope that the Common-wealth Party, with a moderate number of Forces to join with them, would be able to carry their Point, profeſſing himſelf to be as well in Judgment as Intereſt diſpoſed to wiſh them well: And on this Head we went over many Particulars, tho' I durſt not be ſo free with him as was requiſite to a full clearing of ſuch Matters. Some Days after this, we had another Conference, in which by the perſwaſion of a particular Friend, I acquainted him, That if any juſt and honourable way ſhould be propoſed for the reſtitution of the Republick in *England*, I would readily uſe the beſt of my Endeavours, and hazard my Life in that Service. He ſeemed well ſatisfied with this Anſwer; and having aſſured me that a great ſum of Mony would be advanced to give Life to the intereſt of our Friends, and to aſſiſt them in their preparations for Action, we agreed on a way of Correſpondence, and ſo parted.

The next Morning, one Mr. *Conſtance* came to me from the Count of *Donnagh*, with a Meſſage to deſire me to meet him privately at *Lauſanna*, which I promiſed to do the more willingly, becauſe the ſaid Count had lately given Proof of his Kindneſs to us, by ſending me Advice, That his Ladies Father paſſing through *Chatillion*, (the princpal Place of our Enemies Rendevouz) had been certainly informed, That thoſe who had Murder'd Mr. *Liſle*, were come again into theſe Parts with intentions to Aſſaſſinate us; and more particularly me, aſſuring, That I might give credit to the thing, becauſe it had been imparted to his Father-in-Law, on ſuppoſition that he approved the Deſign. The Gentleman informed me alſo, That the Count had a Commiſſion from the States of *Holland* to raiſe Three Thouſand Men in theſe Parts; that the Heer *John de Witte* had adviſed him to ſee me, and that he hoped the Levies he was to make, might be imploy'd for the reſtitution of the Common-wealth in *England*. To which I anſwered, as I had done before to Monſieur *Stuppa*, that I was always ready to lay down my Life in ſo good a Cauſe.

Few Days after this, I received a Letter from *Holland* to inform me, That our Friends were entring into new Meaſures, and that the Heer *John de Witte*, together with the Heer *Nieuport*, and others who ſeemed moſt Affectionate to us, had adviſed, That for ſeveral Reaſons,

Reaſons, the Treaty between *Holland* and our Friends might be carried on at *Paris*; that Colonel *Algernon Sidney* and I would repair to *France* for that purpoſe, where we ſhould be Lodged at the Houſe of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, promiſing that we ſhould have Paſtports in the beſt Form, requiring all Magiſtrates and other Officers in that Kingdom to be ſerviceable and aſſiſting to us. In the ſame Packet I had another from *England* to inform me, That the Condition of our Friends there was not Contemptible, and that they thought no Hazards too great to be ventur'd in order to deliver themſelves from the Evils they ſuffer'd, and greater which they had juſt Cauſe to fear. They exhorted me therefore to lay aſide all Scruples and former Prejudices, and to improve the preſent favourable Conjuncture to the advantage of the Common-wealth. Theſe Letters were accompanied with three more; One from Colonel *Algernon Sidney*, inviting me to give him a meeting at *Baſle*, in order to continue our Journy from thence to *Paris*. The other two were written by Mr. *Say*, and Colonel *Biſco*, to preſs me to engage in this Undertaking, promiſing, That if I would reſolve to go, all the Exiles would not fail to accompany me; and adding, That if I refuſed, they believed no Man would ſtir. I found by theſe Letters that there had been ſome Heats and Jealouſies between Colonel *Sidney* and Mr. *Say*, the former charging Mr.

Say with having privately diſſwaded me from engaging in this Enterpriſe, and Mr. *Say* accuſing Colonel *Sidney* of uſing all the means he could to diſcourage me; but to do them Juſtice, I muſt needs ſay, That they both endeavoured to the utmoſt of their Power to engage me in this Affair.

Theſe things brought me into great Doubts and Difficulties. For on the one hand, if I ſhould neglect the preſent Offers, and the Deſign ſhould miſcarry, I foreſaw that my Friends, who had ſollicited me to engage, would not fail to attribute the Fault to me, by whatever means the ill Succeſs ſhould happen. On the other ſide, if I ſhould reſolve to enter upon ſuch a Treaty, beſides my own want of Ability for the management of ſo great an Affair, the unſuitableneſs of my Principles and Circumſtances, together with the Averſion I had to treat in *France*, and perhaps with that King's Miniſters, who had all along favour'd thoſe bloody Deſigns which had been contrived againſt my Life, I could not ſee how I might come to any Reſolution what to offer, demand, promiſe or perform. Being under this Perplexity, I was attack'd again on the ſame account by two of our Friends, who made a Journy from *Holland* on purpoſe to perſwade me to take part in this Affair; ſo that finding my ſelf thus preſſed on all Hands, I told them, That the Lord *Jermyn* being lately arrived at *Paris*, with Orders

Orders from the Court of *England*, to treat of an Accommodation with the King of *France*, in which he would not fail to be powerfully aſſiſted by the Queen-Mother of *England*; this Treaty might take effect, as that of the Biſhop of *Munſter* with the States had already done; by which means it would certainly fall out, That, tho' we ſhould not be betray'd by the *French*, which I doubted, yet the Lords of *Bern* would no longer think themſelves obliged to protect us as they had hitherto done; that if the Levies of *Suiſs* Soldiers which the States were about to make, ſhould be deſigned for *England* as we had been informed, I thought my preſent Stay in theſe Parts might be of more uſe to the Publick, than if I ſhould take the Journy that was propoſed; and that for many Reaſons I was very unwilling to put my ſelf into the Hands of the King of *France*. Yet that they might ſee I would go as great a length in this Buſineſs as I could, I offer'd, That if the States ſhould think fit to publiſh a Declaration to acknowledge the Error of delivering up our three Friends; promiſe to uſe their Endeavours to reſtore the Common-wealth to the Exerciſe of their Authority; furniſh ſuch a number of Troops of the Reformed Religion as might be probably ſufficient to protect our Friends in coming into them, and oblige themſelves not to leave us in a worſe condition than we were at that time, I would heartily

heartily engage in the Enterprize. With this Anſwer my two Friends returned to *Holland*, and being on their way ſent me Word, That the Perſon who reſided for the King of *France* at *Mentz*, and is Brother to his Ambaſſador at *Ratisbonne*, had been at *Frankfurt* on purpoſe to meet Colonel *Sidney* and me, ſuppoſing we had both been at that place; where in a Conference with the Colonel, he had communicated to him a Letter from Monſieur *de Lyonne* Secretary of State, written in Cypher by the Order of the King of *France*, in which he was commanded to acquaint us, That if we would go to *Paris*, we ſhould have all the Security the Government could give or we could deſire for the Safety of our Perſons.

The Court of *England* having received ſome obſcure Informations of a Deſign carried on by the *Dutch* to land ſome Forces to aſſiſt their Enemies at home, publiſhed a Proclamation to require Colonel *John Desbrowe*, Colonel *Thomas Kelſey*, Colonel *John White*, Major *John Grove*, Sir *Robert Honywood* Junior, Captain *John Nicholas* of *Monmouth*, and divers other Perſons, to return into *England* and to ſurrender themſelves into the Hands of ſome Juſtice of the Peace in the County where they ſhould land, before the 23d Day of the next enſuing *July*, on pain of being proceeded againſt as Traytors. But not being contented with this, they employed a Jeſuite to procure

the

the Penſioner *John de Witte* to be murder'd, who not only undertook that Employment, but promiſed to get me to be aſſaſſinated alſo. Myn Heer *Nieuport*, who had formerly been Ambaſſador for the States in *England*, ſent his Son to Mr. *Say* to acquaint him with this Matter, aſſuring him that the Jeſuite was already come to *Holland*, and that they hoped to ſeize him; but leſt other Perſons might be engaged with him in the Deſign againſt me, of whom they had no Information, he deſired that I might be forthwith adviſed of what they had diſcovered; which Mr. *Say* punctually performed.

Our Friends began now to perceive the Effects of *Jermyn*'s Negociation, and that the *French* King would rather chuſe to procure to himſelf the management of the Court of *England* at any rate, than either to do an honourable thing for Men in diſtreſs, or to give his Allies common Satisfaction in the ſmalleſt Things that might diſguſt his Brother of *England* in this Conjuncture. For the *Dutch* Ambaſſador having demanded that *Te Deum* might be ſung in the great Church at *Paris* for the late Victory they had obtained againſt the Engliſh Fleet commanded by *Monk* and Prince *Rupert*; he refuſed to permit it for three Reaſons. Firſt, On account that they differed in Religion. In the ſecond place, That having had no Forces in the Engagement, he could have no ſhare in the Victory.

And

And Thirdly, That it would be of little advantage to either of the States to triumph over their Enemies. Our Friends had been made to believe that they ſhould have the aſſiſtance of *France* in a great Sum of Mony; but few of them approved of their ſending Forces, as was at laſt propoſed, ſuſpecting their Fidelity in caſe of Succeſs. And I think the Event ſhew'd that this laſt Propoſition was made by the *French* (who had been lately intriguing with the Court of *England)* in confidence that it would not be accepted.

But however Affairs might ſtand in *France*, yet our Friends in *Holland* had not loſt all hopes, as may appear by the following Letter which I received from thence.

SIR,

" WE cannot look upon the frequent and " earneſt Applications of ſo many of " our Friends for your coming into theſe " Parts to be loſt. We are fully ſatisfied of " our Intereſt with you, and have heard with " Joy the Report of thoſe Gentlemen who " were lately at *Vevay*, how much you are " concerned for the Publick Cauſe. We can- " not but be ſenſible of the difference between " treating with a Monarch, and engaging " with a Free State, and are glad to find that " the ſame Principles which arm you againſt

" the

" the one, cauſe you to incline to the other
" upon reaſonable Terms; which we doubt
" not would be offer'd, if you would appear
" among us. They have here received ſuch
" an Account of the condition of our Friends
" in *England*, that they are inclined to give
" us conſiderable Succours of all Things ne-
" ceſſary for our Enterpriſe. This is the ſe-
" cond time that the States have cauſed a
" great Body of Land-Forces to be ſhipp'd on
" board their Fleet purely on our account,
" proteſting in the moſt ſolemn manner, that
" they have no other Deſign than to give the
" good People of *England* a ſeaſonable and
" effectual Aid. If we loſe this opportunity,
" we may probably repent our Folly, but ſhall
" hardly redeem our Credit. For theſe Rea-
" ſons we renew our moſt affectionate Deſires
" that you would haſten to us, and hope for
" your ſpeedy Anſwer rather in Perſon than
" by Writing, leſt this alſo be added to all
" our former Afflictions, that another oppor-
" tunity be loſt.

This Letter being ſubſcribed by many Perſons was ſent to me by the way of *Germany*, and a Duplicate being diſpatch'd at the ſame time through *France*, I received both. From all which, conſidering that ſo much weight was laid upon my Preſence in *Holland*, tho' I could ſee little reaſon for their Opinion, I reſolved to inſiſt no longer upon any thing to be done

done by the States previous to my Engagement, but only that they would disclaim that Action which had passed in relation to our three Friends, and promise to make Provision, in any Treaty they should make with our Enemies, for all those who should engage with them, or at least to leave them in as good a Condition as they were at the time of their Engagement. If this could be effected I determined to make use of the following Passport, which I had received from the Count *D'Estrades* Ambassador for the King of *France* to the States General of the United Provinces.

" Le Comte D'Estrades Lieutenant General
" en chef dans les Armées du Roy, Gouver-
" neur de Donquerque, Maire Perpetuel de
" Bourdeaux, Vice-Roy de l'Amerique,
" Chevalier des Ordres de sa Majesté, & son
" Ambassadeur extraordinaire en Hollande.

" NOus requerons tous Gouverneurs,
" Commandeurs, Capitaines, Lieute-
" tenants, Maires, Eschevins, Juges, & autres
" Officiers tant de mer que de terre, a qui il
" appartiendra, de laisser seurement & Libre-
" ment passer, chacun par les lieux de ses
" pouvoirs & jurisdictions, le Sieur Edmond
" Ludlow & quatre Valets, sans aucun trou-
" ble ou empeschement, mais plutost toute
" faveur,

" faveur, aide & aſſiſtance, & ils nous feront
" un ſingulier plaiſir. Fait a la Haye le 2 jour
" de Mars, 1666.

His Seal of Arms was here affixed.

D'Eſtrades.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The Count D'Eſtrades, *Lieutenant General in chief of the King's Armies, Governor of* Dunkirk, *perpetual Mayor of* Burdeaux, *Vice-Roy of* America, *Knight of his Majeſty's Orders, and his extraordinary Ambaſſador in* Holland.

WE require all Governors, Commanders, Captains, Lieutenants, Mayors, Sheriffs, Judges, and other Officers to whom it may belong, as well by Sea as by Land, to permit ——— *with four Servants, to paſs freely and ſafely through the Places of their reſpective Powers and Juriſdictions, without any Trouble or Impediment, but rather all manner of Favour, Aid and Aſſiſtance. Given at the* Hague *the ſecond of* March, 1666.

D'Eſtrades.

Some

Some time after this, an Engagement happening between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets, tho' both Parties made Bonfires for the Victory, yet the Court of *England* conceiving the Advantage to have been on their ſide, reſolved to improve the opportunity for the advancement of the Prince of *Orange*. To this end the Earl of *Arlington*, who was then Secretary of State, wrote a Letter to one *Buat* a *French* Man, with whom he had Correſpondence; and knowing him to be well affected to the Prince, acquainted him that he judged this to be the time of promoting that Intereſt. *Buat*, who, tho' he had a Military Command in *Holland*, yet pretended to ſerve that State with Intelligence from Foreign Parts, having on that account ſome Paper to preſent to the Penſionary *John de Witte*, put the Lord *Arlington*'s Letter by miſtake into his Hands. Upon this, *Buat* was ſeized with his Papers; which, as was ſaid, gave them ſo much Light, that *Trump* with his Brother-in-Law the Sieur *Kuivoit* of *Roterdam*, were removed from their Employments, and forbidden to appear in any publick Council; the latter, with one *Vanderhulſt* of the ſame Place, departing the Country. Many others were ſeized, and Orders being given to proſecute *Buat* for Treaſon, he was found guilty and condemned to loſe his Head. *Trump* was confined to his Houſe, and the Baron *de Ghent* was appointed to ſucceed him in his Command by Sea.

About

About the middle of *September*, 1666. The Count of *Donagh* ſent me Advice by M. *Conſtance*, That, having been at *Chatillion*, the uſual place of our Enemies Rendevouz, he had obliged the Maſter of the Inn where they met, to promiſe, That if he ſhould diſcover any Perſons to have a Deſign againſt us for the future, or if thoſe who formerly frequented his Houſe on that account ſhould at any time return thither, he would not fail to inform him forthwith. This Meſſage was the more ſeaſonable, becauſe within few Days, our good Friend Monſieur *Torneri*, upon whom alone, ſince the Death of Monſieur *de la Fleſchere*, we depended for Intelligence from *Savoy*, was Murder'd by *Du Fargis*, one of thoſe who with *Du Pre* attempted to Aſſaſſinate us in the Year 1664. It was ſaid, That Monſieur *Torneri* had ſpoken ſome words concerning *Du Fargis*, which containing too much Truth, and therefore moſt Offending; *Du Fargis* having waited ſome time for an occaſion of Revenge, at laſt ſhot him in the Head, as he was on Horſeback taking leave of his Siſter at her Houſe in *Tvian*; of which Wound he died the ſame Day.

The Court of *England* having procured from the Parliament a Grant of about Eighteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds, under colour of carrying on the War againſt *Holland* and *France*; began immediately after the Prorogation of the Parliament, to diſcover their

Intentions to make Peace with their Neighbours. Preſents and Offices of Civility paſſed frequently between *Paris* and *London*; and the King of *France* ſent Orders to all his Ports, That if any *Engliſh* Ships ſhould be forced into them by ſtreſs of Weather or otherwiſe, they ſhould be received and aſſiſted with all things neceſſary. The King of *England* acquainted the Ambaſſador of *Sweden*, that as Mediator he might intimate to the States, That upon an invitation from them, they ſhould not find them averſe from Peace, and that he was contented the *Hague* ſhould be the place of treating. But the Penſionary *John de Witte*, who well knew what Opportunities of ſowing Diviſions among them the *Hague* would afford, calling to mind that the King had formerly pretended he would never be brought to treat in any other place than at *London*, and therefore ſuſpecting that by this ſeeming Condeſcenſion he might propoſe to himſelf to do that by little Arts, which he could not compaſs by open force, procured the States to excuſe themſelves from treating at the *Hague*, under colour that being an open Town, they could not ſo well protect ſuch Miniſters as ſhould be ſent to treat, from the inſults of the People, as they had formerly experienced to their great Regret, and to offer *Utrecht*, *Breda* or *Maeſtricht* for the place of treating, at the choice of the King of *England*. When the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador had com-

communicated this Anſwer to the King, he fell into a great Paſſion, not ſo much on account of their refuſal, but becauſe he ſaw his Deſigns diſcovered. However, being reſolved not to ſet out the Fleet, and therefore conſtrained to be Calm, he ſwallow'd the bitter Draught, and made choice of *Breda* for this purpoſe. He nominated Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, who for his Merits in helping to bring about the late change, was now called Lord *Hollis*, together with one Mr. *Coventry* to be his Commiſſioners for treating the Peace, putting on an appearance of careſſing the *Dutch*, calling them his Allies, offering that each Party ſhould keep what they poſſeſs'd, and that the Treaty concluded between them in the Year 1662. ſhould be the foundation of this. The Seamen wanting Employment, enter'd themſelves for the moſt part into the Service of the Merchants, and ſome of them into that of the States; by which means it became impoſſible to Man out a Fleet upon any occaſion however preſſing.

The *Dutch* being well inform'd of what paſs'd in *England*, and thinking this Opportunity not to be neglected, made as great preparations for War as they had ever done. *De Ruyter* was appointed to command the Fleet, and Four Thouſand Land-men were put on Board under the Conduct of one Colonel *Doleman*, an Experienc'd Officer, and who for not rendring himſelf within the time

limited by the late Proclamation, had incurred the penalty of Treaſon by Virtue of a late Act paſſed at *Weſtminſter*, and on that account believed to be more firm to their Intereſt. In this Conjuncture, my Friends and Country-men in *Holland* attack'd me again with Letters, aſſuring me, That nothing could hinder the ſpeedy Diſpatch of this Fleet but the Expectation of my Arrival; That the States had reſolved to Land a conſiderable Force in a certain place in *England* by their Advice, and that our Friends in *England* ſhould have timely notice of their Intentions; That Colonel *Doleman* was to command thoſe Troops as General, unleſs I ſhould arrive before the Sailing of the Fleet, and in ſuch caſe it was order'd that he ſhould have the next Poſt under me. But having received no ſatisfaction touching thoſe things upon which I had formerly inſiſted; being of Opinion that it lay within the Power of the Court of *England* to make Peace with the *Dutch* when they pleaſed, and conceiving that the great Preparations made by the *Dutch*, and the Correſpondences kept on foot with our Friends were only in order to conſtrain the King to a Compliance with them; I returned for my Anſwer, that I thought Colonel *Doleman*, who was in the actual Service of the States, and an able Officer, to be much fitter for that Employment than my ſelf. But if, contrary to my Senſe of things, the States and our Friends

ſhould

ſhould judge otherwiſe, I told them again, That if I might have ſatisfaction in the two Points I formerly mentioned, I would not be wanting to contribute my beſt aſſiſtance to the Service of the Publick, tho' in the loweſt degree of Employment; and that if I might be aſſured that a Journy to *Holland* at this time would not tend to deprive me of the Protection I now enjoy'd, I would not fail for their Satisfaction to undertake it without delay, that we might debate theſe things together upon the Place. It ſoon appeared that I had good ground for this Caution; for upon the Arming of the Biſhop of *Munſter* contrary to the late Agreement he had made, and the Reſtitution of *Rhynberg* demanded by the Elector of *Colen*, together with ſome other Accidents, the *Dutch* ſhewed themſelves ready to treat with *England*, upon the foot of the Treaty concluded between them in the Year 1662. with little alteration in the Articles touching the King's Enemies, and none at all in that relating to the late King's Judges.

The *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries, notwithſtanding the ill Condition of Affairs at home, ſpent a whole Month at *Breda* without entring into Conference with thoſe of *Holland*, which with the Quarrels that happened between theſe two Miniſters, gave the States a farther occaſion to improve the preſent Conjuncture to the beſt advantage; many of them

declaring openly that they would protect the moſt obnoxious of the King's Enemies. In this Reſolution they ſent their Fleet to Sea, and made directly for the River of *Thames* with their Land-Forces on Board. The Court of *England* having made no preparations for the defence of the Nation, was alarum'd to the laſt degree with the News of their Approach; and at the firſt meeting of the Council, a Propoſition was made to Aſſemble the Parliament with all poſſible Expedition, tho' they had been Adjourn'd to the Tenth of *October*, that by their Advice either a Peace might be made to the Satisfaction of the Nation, or the War carried on to the beſt Advantage. On the other ſide, the Chancellor *Hyde* knowing himſelf to be in danger from the Parliament, did all that he could to oppoſe that Motion; and conceiving an Army more uſeful to promote the Arbitrary Deſigns of the Court, took this occaſion to propoſe the raiſing of Twelve Thouſand Men. And tho' the Major part of the Council carried it for Aſſembling the Parliament on the 25th of the next enſuing *July*, and that a Proclamation ſhould be forthwith publiſhed to that end, yet the deſign of raiſing an Army was not laid aſide.

The *Dutch* Admiral finding no Enemies at Sea, reſolv'd to attack the *Engliſh* in their own Harbours, and to that end made all Sail for the River. The firſt *Engliſh* Ships he ſaw

were

were Eight or Nine outward bound Merchant-men with their Convoy, which upon diſcovery of the *Holland* Fleet having tack'd about, he chaced them up to the *Hope*; but being ſuddenly becalmed, he was oblig'd to come to an Anchor. Here he met with a Storm, which ending in a favourable North-Eaſt Wind, he ſtood towards the Iſle of *Sheppway*, and being arriv'd there he Landed about Eight Hundred Men, ſeized the Iſland, and took the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, a Ship of War that lay for the Guard of that Fort, being taken by ſome of their great Ships at the ſame time. Having poſſeſſed themſelves of this Fort, Eighteen of their leſſer Veſſels with ſome Fire-ſhips, under the Conduct of Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent*, ſailed the next Day into the River of *Chatham*, and notwithſtanding the Ships that had been ſunk to hinder their Paſſage, came up to an Iron Chain that traverſed the River, and had been made on this occaſion, fought the *Mathias* and *Charles* the fifth, which were order'd to defend it, killed moſt of their Men, burnt the Ships and broke the Chain. Then paſſing by *Upner*-Caſtle they burnt the *Mary*, took the *Unity* and the Royal *Charles*, and placed their Colours upon the latter in view of her Maſter who ſtood on the Shore, obſerving the Effects of his prudent and vigilant Government. On the third Day they burnt the Royal *Oak*, the Royal *James*, and the Loyal *London*, with divers other

ſmaller Veſſels. In this deplorable State of Affairs, *Monk* being deſirous to ſave the remaining Ships, he cauſed them to be ſunk in the River, and order'd five Fire-ſhips to fall in among the *Dutch* Fleet, but without the Succeſs he expected. In the mean time, the Trained Bands from all the adjacent Parts were Marching towards *Chatham*, to endeavour to prevent farther Miſchief by Land; Nine Ships were ſunk at *Woolwich*, and four at *Blackwal*; and Platforms furniſhed with Artillery and Works to defend them, were raiſed in divers Places to hinder the Enemy from coming up to *London*. But the *Dutch*, who had another Game to play, having exacted a Sum of Mony from the Inhabitants of *Shepway*, and carried off the Guns and Ammunition they found at *Sheerneſs*, fell down with their Fleet to the *Buoy* in the *Nore*, and *Solebay*; giving leiſure to all Parties to make their Reflections upon this Expedition; the Court in the mean time taking hold of this occaſion to colour the raiſing of Land-Forces.

Theſe Loſſes, and this Diſhonour falling upon the *Engliſh*, were not without effect at *Breda*. For their Plenipotentiaries, who had hitherto been very ſlow in their Negotiation, now applied themſelves ſo effectually to the Work, that in two or three Days they made a conſiderable progreſs in the Treaty, and agreed to the Articles that were thought to contain

contain the greateſt Difficulties. One Article concerning *Denmark* retarded the concluſion for ſome Days, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors deſiring time to know the King's Pleaſure in that Matter. But he being compell'd to ſubmit to the preſent Neceſſity, order'd them to Sign all, expecting to take Revenge at a more convenient time.

By this time it was manifeſt, That tho' the Penſionary *John de Witte*, and the Heer *Nieuport*, with one or two more might be ſincere in their Dealings with us; yet the far greater part of the States and their Officers had deſired our Conjunction with them for no other end, than to procure better Terms for themſelves from our common Enemy, chuſing rather to ſee a Tyranny than a Common-wealth Eſtabliſhed in *England*, as knowing by Experience that they could corrupt the former, and by that means poſſeſs themſelves of the moſt profitable parts of Trade. And therefore having procured from the *Engliſh* Court ſome new Advantages for their Commerce, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, and their moſt ſolemn Proteſtations made to our Friends, they agreed to Articles touching the King's Enemies, which were the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe of 1662. promiſing to deliver up thoſe they call Regicides into the hands of the King's Miniſters, or others appointed by him; and to deal with all Perſons who ſhould be declared Fugitives or Rebels, as I have

have mentioned already in another place: Only forſooth thoſe who flie to them for matters of Conſcience ſhall not be judged to be comprehended in that Article; as if the King would not be glad to clear his Hands of all thoſe who have any Conſcience, having preſſed them long ſince to ſhew their peaceable Diſpoſition by retiring into ſome of the *American* Plantations, where they might enjoy the liberty of their Conſciences without interruption. Beſides, if he ſhould deſire to reach any Perſons who might withdraw to *Holland* on this account, 'tis but charging them with ſome heinous Crime, and then they are to be treated as Rebels and Fugitives. But having purchaſed the former Peace with the price of Blood, they reſolved to ſtrengthen the ſecond with the ſame Cement. So that I think it may be concluded without Injuſtice, that the *Dutch* had no real intention to do any good to thoſe who were oppreſſed in *England*, and that it was in the Power of that Court to make Peace with them whenever they pleaſed, tho' with the ruin of thoſe who ſhould engage on their ſide. And I conceive my ſelf obliged to bleſs God for the caution I uſed in requiring them to deal plainly and openly in the things which I demanded, and they pretended to do for us, before I would join in the Undertaking. If the *Dutch* had been neceſſitated by ill ſucceſs to accept ſuch Terms as they could get from the Court of *England*.

I doubt

I doubt not all the Blame would have been thrown upon me; but ſince it pleaſed God to put it into their Power to do us all the good imaginable, and our Enemies all the hurt, 'tis paſt Diſpute that the defect was altogether in their Will.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the Parliament met on the 25th of *July*, according to the late Proclamation; and entring immediately upon the Debate of the Army, which they reſolv'd to break, ſpoke ſo clearly and freely touching that Matter, That the Court reſolv'd to give them a little Interruption, hoping in that time to take off ſome of thoſe who had appeared with the greateſt warmth by ſuch means as they had in their Hands, or if that Deſign ſhould not ſucceed, to think upon taking new Meaſures. To this end they were acquainted by the Chancellor *Hyde*, That it was the King's Pleaſure they ſhould Adjourn till the 29th of the ſame Month: But before this Meſſage came to them, they had paſſed a Reſolution, That the King ſhould be deſired forthwith to Disband the Army he had lately raiſed. The Day to which they had been Adjourned being come, and the Houſe full of Members, their Speaker appear'd not, till the King came to the Houſe of Peers, where, having ſent for the Houſe of Commons, he made a ſhort Speech touching the late Peace, and then directed the Chancellor to do as he had commanded; Who, without

without any Preamble told them, That it was His Majeſties Pleaſure they ſhould be Adjourned to the Tenth of *October* next. But for all this, ſome of the Council had the Courage to oppoſe theſe violent Courſes, and to adviſe, That the Army might be Disbanded according to the deſire of the Houſe of Commons, That the Seal ſhould be taken from *Hyde*, and that the Parliament ſhould meet at the time appointed, and be left to the liberty of providing for the Publick Safety in their own way. Purſuant to this Advice, *Monk* was employ'd to demand the Seal of the Chancellor, and embraced this occaſion of Revenge with Joy; for the Chancellor had openly blamed his Conduct in preſuming to attack the whole *Dutch* Fleet the laſt Year, whilſt Prince *Rupert* with part of the *Engliſh* Fleet was ſeparated from him. The Chancellor refuſed to deliver the Seal to *Monk*, under pretence that ſome Men had ſuffered for parting with it too eaſily, telling him, That he would bring it to the King in Council the next Day, being not without hopes by his intereſt and preſence to prevail with them to change their Reſolution. But his Maſter finding himſelf obliged to give way to the preſent Torrent, perſiſted in his Demand, and having received the Seal from his Hands, entruſted it to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, with the Title of Lord-Keeper.

Among

Among the various Reaſons that were given to juſtifie the King in abandoning the Chancellor to the Reſentment of the People, one was, That he had Countermined the King in the Deſign he had to be Divorced from the Queen, under pretence that She had been preingaged to another Perſon; That She had made a Vow of Chaſtity before her Marriage, and that She was uncapable of having Children. The Perſon deſigned to fill her place was one Mrs. *Stuart*, a Young and Beautiful Lady, who had ſome Office under the Queen. The Chancellor, who had procured his Daughter to be Married to the Duke of *York*, and was therefore ſuſpected of having made the Match with the Infanta of *Portugal*, that he might make way for the ſucceſſion of the collateral Line, ſent for the Duke of *Richmond*; and pretending to be ſorry that a Perſon of his Worth, and near Relation to the King ſhould receive no Marks of his Favour, adviſed him to Marry Mrs. *Stuart*, as the moſt certain way he could take to advance himſelf. The Young Man unwarily took in the Bait, and credulouſly relying upon what the Old *Volpone* had ſaid, made immediate Application to the Young Lady, who was ignorant of the King's Intentions, and in a few Days Married her. The King being thus diſappointed, and ſoon after informed by what means this Match had been brought about, baniſhed the Duke with his new Dutcheſs from the Court,

and

and kept his Reſentment againſt the Chancellor to a more convenient Opportunity.

By Letters from *Paris* I was informed, That the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, not at all diſcouraged by the Unſucceſsfulneſs of the Attempts of her Inſtruments againſt us, had openly declared, That ſhe would not reſt, till the Deſign ſhould be effected, if Mony would bring it about; and to that end had employed other Perſons than thoſe who had formerly endeavoured to Aſſaſſinate us. Few Days after, a *Swiſs* Merchant reſiding at *Lyons*, coming to *Vevay* upon Buſineſs relating to his Profeſſion, acquainted me, That having obſerved an *Engliſh* Gentleman of a reſerved Carriage to have taken a Lodging in a private Houſe at *Lyons*, and finding upon inquiry that he was no Trader; thinking him to be too far advanced in Age to travel either for Pleaſure, or to acquire Experience, and diſliking the Company he frequented, he began to ſuſpect him to be one of thoſe who were employed in the Deſign againſt us; and being deſirous to know the truth in order to do us what Service he could, he ſoon found means to be introduced into his Acquaintance. After two or three Days Converſation, the Gentleman finding him to be a *Swiſs*, and of the Canton of *Friburg*, inquired of him whether *Vevay* were within that Juriſdiction, whether the *Engliſh* Gentlemen were ſtill there, and in what Number, and whether he had any Acquaintance

quaintance or Intereſt in the Place; and upon Anſwer that he had many Friends there, he began to make him great Offers if he would enter into an Engagement againſt us. He proceeded to tell me, That in order to draw out what he could of the Deſign, he had objected the difficulty of the Undertaking, by reaſon thoſe Gentlemen were ſo conſtantly upon their Guard, and ſo well beloved by all Perſons in the Town, that no Stranger could come thither without being ſtrictly examined and diligently obſerv'd: Beſides, that their Excellencies of *Bern*, by ſo ſeverely puniſhing one of thoſe who had attempted to Aſſaſſinate them, had ſufficiently declared to the World what Uſage others might expect, who ſhould engage in ſuch an Enterprize. To which the Aſſaſſin made anſwer, That he was convinced there was no hope of carrying any of us off by force, or attempting againſt us in an open manner, but that the Buſineſs might be done from a Hedge or a Wall by Perſons Diſguiſed; adding, That *Riardo* and others had fooliſhly ſquander'd away the Mony of the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*; but that now the Deſign was ſo well laid that it could not eaſily miſcarry. This Perſon he deſcrib'd to be of a low Stature, his Hair of a dark Brown beginning to turn Gray, of quick Apprehenſion, and of an active and ſtrong Conſtitution. He informed me alſo, That tho' ſome Perſons in *Savoy* had undertaken for a conſiderable

derable Sum to raiſe ſuch a Party of Men as might ſeize us by open force; yet thoſe who had engaged them, failing to ſupply them with Mony according to Agreement, that Deſign, and all others of that Nature, he believed, were totally laid aſide. He concluded with aſſuring me, That he would take pains to learn what he could of this or any other thing that might concern us, and not fail to give me timely and faithful Advice of what he ſhould diſcover.

The part in this Scene, on which our Enemies laid moſt weight, was to be acted by one *Roux*, a quick witted, nimble tongued and confident *French*-man, who upon Recommendation from *France* was entertain'd at the Houſe of one Colonel *Balthazar*, in the Country of *Veaux*, as others had been who were engaged in the ſame villanous Deſign. He gave himſelf out for a conſiderable Perſon, and pretended to be Commiſſionated from the King of *England*, to treat about Affairs of great Importance with the four Proteſtant Cantons of *Switzerland*, and more particularly with their Lordſhips of *Bern*. Colonel *Balthazar* had lived for ſome time in the Palatinate under mean Circumſtances; but putting himſelf into the Armies of the King of *France*, he in a ſhort time by Plunder and Rapine had accumulated great Riches. Between theſe two it was concerted, That Colonel *Weiſs*, a Senator of *Bern*, whom I have had

had occaſion to mention before, being at *Geneva*, by Order of their Excellencies, for adjuſting ſome Matters in diffreence between that Republick and the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhould, after he had diſpatch'd his Affairs, be invited to the Houſe of Colonel *Balthazar*. Which being accordingly done, *Roux* was introduc'd into his Company, and after ſome Diſcourſe inform'd him, That the King of *England* was deſirous to entertain a more particular Correſpondence with the Proteſtant Cantons, and eſpecially that of *Bern*, than he had done for the time paſt, if on their part they would make him the Compliment to deſire it by an Agent to be ſent into *England* on that account, and preliminary to this Treaty, would withdraw their Protection from thoſe who had contributed to the Death of his Father, expreſſing himſelf amaz'd that their Excellencies ſhould favour thoſe whom *France* and the *Low-Countries* had deliver'd up, and all other Nations had abandon'd. An account of this Buſineſs being ſent to *Bern*, was imparted by Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger*, to our true Friend Mr. *John Henry Humelius*, with Advice to inform me forthwith of what was doing. In the mean time, *Roux* made it his Buſineſs whereſoever he came, to endeavour by Aſperſions to render us odious, and to juſtifie thoſe who had kill'd Mr. *Liſle* at *Lauſanna*, affirming they had been moſt liberally rewarded both in *England* and *France*, and that the King of

England wanted not means to gratifie all thoſe who ſhould do him Service. Of this I had certain and ſpeedy information by divers Perſons, who at ſeveral times had heard theſe and the like Diſcourſes from *Roux*; which I may not let paſs without obſerving, that what he ſaid concerning thoſe who Murder'd Mr. *Liſle* was ſo far from being true, that one of them died not long after he had committed that Villany, in extream want, at a mean Lodging in *Weſtminſter*: And the other, tho' advanc'd to be a Captain in *France*, complain'd of the Ingratitude of thoſe who had employ'd them, proteſting they had never receiv'd any other reward than Three Hundred Piſtoles from the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, of which Two Hundred had been ſpent in laying the Deſign, and waiting an occaſion of putting it in Execution.

Roux having inform'd himſelf as well as he could of things in theſe parts, addreſs'd himſelf to ſome of the Government of *Zurich*, pretending to be ſent from the King of *England* with a Commiſſion to propoſe that the four Proteſtant Cantons would enter into the Alliance lately made by the King of *England*; the States of *Holland*, and the Crown of *Sweden*, for ſecuring the Peace between the Kings of *Spain* and *France*. Which Propoſition being communicated to the Council, they having been inform'd concerning the pretended Agent, and the condition annex'd to his Buſi-

neſs,

neſs, *That their Excellencies of* Bern *ſhould abandon the* Engliſh, refus'd him Audience under pretext that he had not any Letters of Credence, which he would have perſwaded them he had left at a place in *Burgundy* call'd St. *Claud*. Having met with this cold Reception at *Zurich*, he reſolv'd to make tryal of the Government of *Bern*; and accordingly procur'd one of their number to acquaint them with his Propoſitions; but they us'd him more roughly, and order'd the Perſon he had engag'd to inform them of his Buſineſs, to let him know, That they approv'd neither of his Perſon nor of his Propoſitions, and that he might return by the ſame way he came. Yet all this was not enough to check the Impudence of this Fellow. For upon the return of Colonel *Weiſs* from *Geneva*, (who had left the Differences between that State and the Duke of *Savoy* in a fair way of Accommodation) he attack'd him again, in hopes by his means to procure ſome Intereſt at *Bern*; proteſting that the King of *England* had a great deſire to enter into a more particular Alliance with that Canton than any other, provided they would deliver thoſe who had adjudg'd his Father to Death into his Hands, or at leaſt withdraw the Protection they had granted to them, tempting him with aſſurances, That whoever ſhould carry the News of their Concurrence to the King, ſhould receive Fifty Thouſand Crowns for a Gratuity. To which the Colo-

nel made anſwer with more than ordinary Indignation, That he could not think of the Propoſition without Horrour; That it was derogatory to the Honour of their Excellencies, and that it was not the cuſtom of the *Swiſs* to betray thoſe who had put themſelves under their Protection. This Attempt was ſeconded by a Letter pretended to be written from the Court of *England*, by one who would be thought a great Friend to the *Swiſs* Intereſt, dated in *Auguſt* 1668. and addreſs'd to one of the Syndics of *Geneva*, in order to be communicated to the Governors of *Bern*. Having obtain'd a ſight of this Paper, I found in it the following Words:

" YOU are deſir'd to give immediate
" notice to the Lords of *Bern*, That
" their Enemies have endeavour'd to perſwade
" His Majeſty, that they have neither the
" Reſpect nor Affection for his Perſon, that
" he might juſtly expect from them; That
" they have not only taken the Murderers of
" the late King into their Protection, but
" have publickly honour'd them with extra-
" ordinary Favours. This Report I have en-
" deavour'd to diſcredit, even in the preſence
" of the Perſon who kill'd Mr. *Liſle* at *Lau-*
" *ſanna*, aſſuring His Majeſty, That if any
" ſuch Perſons were within the Territories of
" *Bern*, the Government was not inform'd of
" their Crimes; and that I firmly believ'd,

" If

" If His Majeſty ſhould deſire it, they would " not only baniſh them, but deliver them up, " as the *Hollanders* had done, to receive the " juſt Puniſhment of ſo horrible a Crime.

Upon this Letter, and other Artifices us'd by our Enemies, Colonel *Balthazar* openly gave out, That this would be the laſt Year of our reſidence at *Vevay*; But their Excellencies of *Bern* having perus'd the Letter, and finding no Name ſubſcrib'd, concluded it to be written by ſome mercenary Fellow, who had been hir'd to that purpoſe; and ſome of them did us the favour to promiſe that they would endeavour to find out the Authors of the Contrivance. Colonel *Weiſs* alſo ſent to inform me of the late Converſation he had with *Roux*, and to aſſure us, That tho' he had been deluded into a good Opinion of him, by the falſe Pretences of *Balthazar*; yet being ſufficiently convinc'd of his Miſtake, he ſhould be always ready to ſerve us to the utmoſt of his Power, and would anſwer, That General *D'Erlach* ſhould alſo do the ſame, with as many of the Senate as he could make to be our Friends. Theſe aſſurances were accompany'd with a Meſſage from the Advoyer, by one Captain *Bartholomeo Turene*, who had been an active Officer in the defence of his Country-men of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, againſt the Tyranny of the Duke of *Savoy*. The Contents of this Meſſage were to let us

know, That tho' we might have ſome Enemies, yet we had many more Friends at *Bern*; promiſing to continue his care of us, and to do his beſt to defeat the Deſigns of our Enemies.

About the ſame time, Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* coming to *Vevay* about the Publick Affairs, made us another Viſit, and did us the honour to Dine at our Quarters, accompany'd by the Bailiff of the Town, and other Principal Perſons of the Country. In this Converſation he inform'd us, That when Application was made to their Excellencies, that they would appoint ſome Perſons to treat with *Roux*, or at leaſt give him an Audience, he had taken the liberty to ſay in the Council, That tho' there were no ground to ſuſpect him of ill Deſigns, as there was but too much, and that the King of *England* ſhould ſend to them with all the Ceremony and Forms requiſite to deſire them to withdraw their Protection from us, he could never prevail with himſelf to give his conſent to ſuch a Reſolution; becauſe the Protection having been granted after ſerious deliberation, and the *Engliſh* Gentlemen having done nothing to forfeit their Excellencies Favour, it ought in his Opinion to be eſteem'd Sacred. He told us, That the Perſon who had mov'd the Council to take *Roux*'s Buſineſs into Conſideration, had been publickly Reprimanded for his forwardneſs in that Matter; and that their Excellencies had refus'd to receive

receive an Agent from the King of *England* to reſide among them, returning for Anſwer, That they had no Buſineſs with that King for the preſent; but if at any time they ſhould have Affairs to treat with him, they would addreſs themſelves by their own Miniſters.

Roux having met with the Repulſes above mention'd, and receiving information from the Bailiff of *Nyon*, That Monſieur *Gabriel de Diesbach*, at that time Bailiff of the Juriſdiction of *Vevay*, had threatned to treat him according to his Merits if he ſhould preſume to come within his Power, retir'd to St. *Claud*, in the Free-County of *Burgundy*; having made great Complaints of the Uſage he had receiv'd at *Bern* and *Zurich*; boaſting of his Correſpondencies with the Miniſters of *Sweden* and *Holland*, as well as of his preſent Employment from the King of *England*, and ſhewing Letters from *Don Diego de Caſtel-Rodrigo*, Governor of *Flanders* to the Governor of the County of *Burgundy*, deſiring him to furniſh Mony and whatever might be neceſſary to his Undertaking. From hence he went to *Geneva*, and was there ſeen frequently in the Company of a certain Stranger, who, by the deſcription we receiv'd of his Perſon, we found to be the ſame that had been for ſome time at *Lyons*, and of whom I had an account by the *Swiſs* Merchant of *Friburg*. After a ſhort ſtay at *Geneva*, he return'd to St. *Claud*, and appearing in better Equipage than he had

formerly done, he ſent one of his Companions to the Bailiff of *Nyon* to inform him, That having receiv'd freſh Inſtructions from the King of *England*, he had Propoſitions to make to their Excellencies of *Bern*, which would be of great advantage to their Republick, particularly in the way of Trade; deſiring leave to be admitted to impart the Heads of his Negotiation to him. The Bailiff who had been ſufficiently inform'd touching his Perſon and Deſigns, ſoon diſmiſs'd his Meſſenger with this Anſwer, That being abundantly ſatisfy'd, his principal Errant was to attempt ſomething againſt thoſe *Engliſh* Gentlemen, whom their Excellencies had taken into their Protection, and were reſolv'd to defend, he would have nothing to do with him. But this proving not ſufficient to oblige him to deſiſt, he ſent his Meſſenger a ſecond time to the Bailiff, to propoſe that he would ſurrender himſelf into the Hands of the Government of *Bern* for Caution, that he intended no Miſchief to our Perſons; but indeed confeſs'd, That being charg'd by the King of *England* with Propoſitions to thoſe of *Bern*, tending highly to their Advantage, he ſhould not conſult the Honour of his Maſter, by treating with them, whilſt his moſt dangerous and avow'd Enemies were openly protected in their Territories. Which being in effect the ſame with what he had ſaid before, the Bailiff contented himſelf to return the ſame Anſwer, and immediately diſpatch'd

his

his Son-in-Law to give me notice of what had paſs'd, and to adviſe me, tho' there ſeem'd to be little probability of his daring to attempt us openly, and that *Balthazar* would not be thought to correſpond with him, yet that we would be upon our Guard againſt the private Deſigns of both.

In the mean time, Monſieur *Mouliere*, who was then Reſident for the King of *France* in *Switzerland*, having receiv'd information from ſome Perſons (as I think I have Reaſon to believe) that wiſh'd well to us, That this *Roux*, tho' a Native of *France*, had ſollicited the Cantons to enter into Meaſures prejudicial to that King's Intereſt, he preſently diſpatch'd Advice of what he had heard to the Court; upon which Orders were given to one Monſieur *Martel*, who had ſerv'd under the Mareſchal *Turenne*, to ſurpriſe and ſeize him. *Martel* having travers'd the Country for ſome Months, before he could find an opportunity to compaſs his Deſign, at laſt fell acquainted with and eaſily corrupted a Prieſt of St. *Claud*, who was a great Confident of *Roux*, procuring him to ſend a Meſſenger to *Balthazar*'s Houſe, where *Roux* then was, with a Letter to invite him to the Houſe of another Prieſt at *Rouſſaire*, on the Frontier of *Burgundy*, where he promis'd a great Regale ſhould be provided for his Entertainment. *Roux* would by no means diſappoint his Friend the Prieſt, and therefore attended only by one Servant,

and

and the Prieſt's Man he ſet forward in the Morning, that he might reach the Place of appointment in convenient time. But *Martel* with his Party having placed themſelves in the way by which he was to paſs, as ſoon as he ſaw him approaching, rode up to him and ſeized him. *Roux* his Servant made his eſcape and left his Maſter to ſhift for himſelf. But the Prieſt's Man who was ignorant of the Deſign, ſuppoſing them to be Robbers, made what Reſiſtance he could, and received a Shot in the Shoulder of which he died in a few days at *Nyon*. *Roux* being thus ſeized, *Martel* order'd his Hands to be tied to the Pommel of the Saddle, and his Feet under the Horſes Belly, and in this poſture carried him off. As they paſſed by the Abbey of *Beaumont*, which is ſituated within the Territories of *Bern*, he began to call for Aid, but a Handkerchief being preſently put into his Mouth, his Voice was not heard. In three Days they arrived at *Lyons*, and ſecured their Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Pierre en Scize*, where after he had remained ſome Days, he was tranſported to *Paris*, and impriſoned in the *Baſtile*.

For this Service the King of *France* rewarded Monſieur *Martel* with a thouſand Piſtoles in Mony, and a Promiſe of the firſt Company that ſhould be vacant in his Guards. The ſecond Perſon in this Party received ſix hundred Piſtoles, and a Promiſe of a Foot Company. The reſt had fifty Piſtoles a Man, and

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Aſſurances of Preferment according to their Capacity. During the Confinement of *Roux*, Monſieur *de Lyonne*, Secretary of State, went frequently to him in the Priſon; but tho' it had been reported that he had contributed much to the making of the League called The Tripple Alliance, yet he could draw nothing from him concerning any Negotiations in which, 'twas ſaid, he had been concerned. Only he told him, That he had Things of great Importance to diſcover, which he reſolved not to communicate to any Perſon but the King. In the mean time deſpairing of Life, and dreading the Puniſhment of the Wheel with which he had been threatned, he gave himſelf a Wound in the ſmall Guts with a Knife he had procured from one of his Keepers; hoping by that Means and an obſtinate refraining from eating, he might put an end to his Fears. On the 21ſt of *June* finding himſelf very weak, and as he thought almoſt ready to expire, he ſent to acquaint Monſieur *de Lyonne* with his Condition, and to let him know that he had heſitated too long. Upon this the Secretary went immediately to the King, and having informed him of the Meſſage he had receiv'd from *Roux*, the King ſent one of his Phiſitians to him; who returning with all poſſible Expedition, and repreſenting the Danger he was in, a Letter was immediately drawn by Monſieur *Colbert*; ſigned by the King, and directed to the Lieutenant-

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Criminal to proceed without delay to his Trial. Being brought before his Judges, the Witneſſes depoſed, that he had ſaid, There were thirty *Ravaillac*'s in *France*, which the King ſhould find before the next *Auguſt*; with other Things tending to prove that he had engaged in Deſigns againſt the King's Perſon. But he denied all, and refuſed, as before, to make any Diſcovery of the Things he knew, unleſs to the King himſelf. He was condemned upon the Evidence to be broken alive on the Wheel, and afterwards to be thrown into the Common Shore for endeavouring to kill himſelf in the Priſon; which Sentence was order'd to be put in execution at the end of the *Pont Neuf*; but by reaſon of his Weakneſs it was performed before the Priſon of the *Chaſtellette*, whither he had been removed from the *Baſtille*. This *Roux* alias *Font-covert*, and St. *Marcelle*, was a Native of *Niſmes* in the Province of *Languedoc*, and had been a Spy for the Court in the time of Cardinal *Mazarin*; for which Service he had been rewarded with a Patent for Licenſing Stage-Coaches and other publick Carriages in the ſaid Province. But the Cardinal upon ſome Information having ſuppreſs'd that Grant, and remov'd his Brother from another Employment, he became ſo diſcontented, that he quitted the Kingdom, and procur'd himſelf to be naturaliz'd in *Holland*. During his Impriſonment, *Spain*, *Holland* and *Switzerland* demanded him

of

of the King of *France*; the first, because he was employ'd in their Service; the *Hollander* for the same reason, and on account of his Naturalization; the *Swiss*, only to lay claim to their Right, he having been seized within their Jurisdiction. But the Court of *England* was by this time become so intirely French, that they said not one Word in his behalf.

Our Friends at *Bern*, according to their accustomed Vigilance, gave us notice that a certain English Man going by the Name of *Thomas Schugar*, had applied himself to some of the Magistrates, to procure them to recommend him to teach the Mathematicks in that place, pretending to have been converted first from Popery to Lutheranism, and then from that to Calvinism, acknowledging that he had been a Priest and a Servant to the Queen-Mother of *England*, and that he had been in Arms for the late King to the year, 1646. at which time, upon the dissipation of that Party, he had transported himself beyond the Seas, and continued abroad till the year 1660. They described him to be of low Stature, ill Looks, speaking seven or eight Languages, and that he was very inquisitive after the English Gentlemen, who had put themselves under their Excellencies Protection. This Person, under pretext that he could find no Employment at *Bern*, came to *Vevay*, and used all means possible to become acquainted with some of our Company, denying to them that he

he had ever been either a Papiſt, Prieſt, or Servant to the Queen Mother. But being told that we had too good Information from *Bern* to doubt of that Matter, he finding himſelf ſuſpected, and therefore not likely to ſucceed in his Deſigns, departed from *Vevay* the next Morning after this Diſcourſe. We underſtood afterwards that paſſing by *Ausburg* he had been entertained for eight or ten days at the Houſe of Mr. *Oliver St. Johns* who had been formerly Chief Juſtice of the Common-pleas in *England*, and that having gotten the Name of the Perſon by whoſe means he received his Letters, he had procured his Correſpondence to be interrupted; which cauſed us to ſuſpect that he had found means to ſerve us in the like manner, our Intercourſe with *England* being for ſome Months wholly cut off 'till we had taken new Meaſures to renew it.

About this time *Henrietta Maria*, Queen-Mother of *England*, and Aunt to the preſent King of *France*, having been formerly an active Inſtrument in contriving and fomenting the long and bloody Civil War in *England*, and encouraging the barbarous Maſſacre of the Proteſtants in *Ireland*; and more lately from a Spirit of Revenge and Malice, a principal Adviſer of the Cruelties acted in *England* upon the alteration of the Government, died at *Paris*. Her Diſtemper at firſt ſeem'd not to be dangerous, but upon taking ſomething pre-

preſcrib'd by the Phyſicians to procure Sleep, the Potion operated in ſuch a manner that ſhe wak'd no more. She receiv'd Threeſcore Thouſand Pounds Yearly from *England*, and yet left many and great Debts unpay'd. She was our particular Enemy, and had conſtantly favour'd the Deſigns that had been carry'd on againſt our Lives.

The Parliament in *England* having been Prorogu'd for about Eighteen Months, met on the 20th of *October*, and the Houſe of Commons being ſent for to the Lords Houſe, after the King had acquainted them with his Joy to ſee them again after ſo long abſence, he deſir'd they would conſider his Debts, and exhorted both Houſes to *Union*. Which laſt Admonition was thought to ariſe from a Pamphlet that had been publiſh'd by the Lord *Hollis*, touching the Caſe of one Mr. *Skynner* a Merchant of *London*, againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, in which Diſcourſe he ſeem'd to out-do the higheſt of all thoſe who had ever written for the Privileges of the Lords. This was a ſtrange Reverſe of the Medal; eſpecially to thoſe, who knew, That when he was a Member of the Houſe of Commons, he had ſo far deſpis'd the Privileges of the Lords, that at a Conference between the two Houſes, in which the Lords ſhew'd themſelves unwilling to comply with the Commons; he had openly ſaid, That if they perſiſted to refuſe their Concurrence, the Commons would do the thing

thing in Diſpute without them. However, one of the Members of the Houſe of Commons anſwer'd *Hollis*'s Pamphlet with ſuch force and ſharpneſs, that upon Debate they came to three Reſolutions to this Effect: That divers things affirm'd in his Book were falſe and ſcandalous: That from this time the Lords ſhall never originally intermeddle with the Cauſe of any Commoner: And that what the Lords have done in the Buſineſs of Mr. *Skynner* ſhall be razed out of their Books. Theſe Votes being carry'd to the Lords for their Approbation, they return'd for Anſwer, That they would ſhortly ſend them a Bill touching this Matter.

The King of *France* having reſolv'd to viſit his late Acquiſitions in the *Low-Countries*, put himſelf at the Head of a great Body of Troops to that purpoſe; of which the States of *Holland* having receiv'd information, and that the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* would accompany the King to the Sea-Coaſt, and then paſs over to meet her Brother at *Dover*, they began not only to diſlike the perſonal Neighbourhood of the King of *France*, but vehemently to ſuſpect that this Interview was deſign'd to unite the two Kings againſt them. And that they might not be wanting to themſelves in this Conjuncture, they immediately diſpatch'd an Ambaſſador to complement the King of *France* in his Progreſs, and ſent the Heer *Van Beuningen* into *England*, to endeavour to diſſipate the

the Clouds that threatn'd from that ſide. The Court of *France*, who were not ignorant of the Deſigns carry'd on by the King of *England*, to ſubvert the Laws and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation; and well underſtood how much the Eſtabliſhment of an Arbitrary Power in the Crown would contribute to weaken that Force which had been ſo formidable under a Free Government, had inſtructed the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* not only to offer Mony to her Brother, in caſe the uſual way of ſupplying his Luxury by Parliamentary Aids ſhould fail, but alſo to give him Aſſurances of whatever number of Forces he ſhould judge requiſite to render the Monarchy abſolute and uncontroll'd. To theſe ſhe her ſelf had added another Argument to be propos'd, no leſs prevalent where it was to be apply'd than the former. For ſhe had in her Train one Mrs. *Queroualle*, of a Family in *Low-Britany*, who, beſides her *French* Education and Carriage, was Young, and had paſs'd in *France* for a great Beauty. With ſuch Baits the Monarch was eaſily taken, and for this Tinſel Ware was contented to barter the Affections and good of the People, together with the quiet of almoſt all *Europe*. Puff'd up with this Succeſs the Dutcheſs returns to *Paris*, and found ſuch a Reception from the King as ſo great Services ſeem'd to deſerve. But her Husband the Duke of *Orleans*, either upon ſuſpicion of her too great Familiarity with her Brother, or of

ſome other Gallantry, to which ſhe was not a little inclin'd, did not ſhew himſelf ſo well contented with her Negotiation. However it was, ſhe being at St. *Cloud*, a Palace belonging to the Duke, few Weeks after her return, having taken a Glaſs of Limonade, or other cooling Liquor, was ſuddenly ſeized with ſuch violent Convulſions that ſhe died at Two of the Clock the next Morning.

The Death of the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* being ſignify'd to the King her Brother, he at firſt ſeem'd to be highly diſſatisfy'd with the Conduct of her Husband, and full of ſuſpicion that ſhe had been us'd in a manner not uncommon among Princes. But having reſolv'd that nothing ſhould diſturb the Meaſures lately taken between the two Courts, he ſoon cool'd, and ſent the Duke of *Buckingham* with the Character of his Ambaſſador to the Court of *France*, in appearance to condole with them for the Death of the Dutcheſs, but indeed to confirm the late Agreement made at *Dover*, and to concert the Methods of purſuing their Deſign. The Duke was receiv'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Eſteem and Favour. The Forces about *Paris* were exercis'd in his Preſence; Balls and Comedies were prepar'd to divert him; the King gave him divers rich Preſents, and made a publick Feaſt on the Day of St. *Louis*, principally on his account. Soon after his arrival, Things began to proceed vigorouſly. A great Sum of Mony was

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ſent into *England*; the *French* Army was order'd to break up, and to march towards the New Conqueſts; Draught-Horſes were bought, and diſpatch'd to them with all Expedition, and no Man doubted any longer either of the League between *France* and *England*, or of their Intentions to employ their Joint Forces againſt the Common-wealth of *Holland*. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *Paris* was ſo alarum'd with this News, that he went in great haſte to Monſieur *de Lyonne*, and deſir'd to be inform'd whether the *French* Army were to be employ'd againſt his Maſters. But the Secretary aſſur'd him there was no ground for any ſuch Apprehenſions, and that if thoſe Troops were us'd in an Expedition, the Storm would fall far enough from their Territories. And accordingly the Mareſchal *de Crequi* at the head of about Twenty five Thouſand Men enter'd *Lorrain*, ſeiz'd *Nancy*, and all the Places that lay on his way, and was within half an Hour of ſurprizing the Duke himſelf at *Eſpinal*. The *French* King pretended for the reaſon of this ſudden Invaſion, That the Duke of *Lorrain* had contrary to a late Treaty, fortify'd ſome of his own Towns, and had endeavour'd in a clandeſtin manner to be admitted into the Triple Alliance; declaring that he intended not to retain the Dutchy in his Poſſeſſion, but deſigned to put it into the Hands of ſome other Perſon of the *Lorrain* Family who ſhould be more worthy. In the

mean time the Mareſchal *de Crequi* having driven the Duke out of his Territories, publiſhed an Order, forbidding his Subjects to yield him Obedience; commanding thoſe who had been in Arms for him, to quit his Service, and to put themſelves into that of the King, and requiring all Orders of Men in that Country to do Homage and ſwear Allegiance to him, under pain of Death and Confiſcation of Eſtate.

The Duke of *Lorrain* being in this manner diſpoſſeſs'd of his Dutchy, without any preceeding Declaration of War on the part of *France*, fill'd all *Europe* with his Complaints, and diſpatch'd a Miniſter to the King of *England* to deſire his good Offices with the French King in this Conjuncture, which he thought he had no reaſon to doubt, on account of the Obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to ſerve him with his Perſon and Troops during the time of his Exile. But inſtead of the Favour expected, his Miniſter received no other Anſwer, than that he was ſorry for what had happened, and that the preſent Violence, like the Miſchiefs of a ſudden Inundation, muſt be endured at this time.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, after he had finiſhed the Buſineſs of his Embaſſy and received many extraordinary Favours and Preſents of great Value from the King of *France*, return'd to *England*; ſoon after which, in order

der to find new Pretences of breaking with the Dutch, a Meſſage was ſent to the Engliſh Miniſter reſiding at the *Hague* to demand the ſurrender of Cornet *Joyce*, who having formerly by Command of the Army, ſeized the late King at *Holmby*, where he was treating with the Parliaments Commiſſioners, had ſince the late Revolution withdrawn himſelf from the Fury of his Enemies, and retired with his Family to *Roterdam*. The Pretext uſed by the Court of *England* to colour this Demand was, That *Joyce* being told that a Shot had been lately made at the King, anſwered, That tho' that had miſs'd, another might prove more ſucceſsful; to which they added, That they had received Information that he had actually engaged himſelf in a Deſign againſt the preſent Government in *England*. By this means they hoped it would come to paſs, either that the States by refuſing to deliver him according to an Article of the late Treaty, might juſtly be charged with breaking the Peace; or by ſurrendring his Perſon, would totally diſoblige the Commonwealth Party, and make them leſs averſe to the intended War. Purſuant to his Inſtructions the Miniſter of *England* makes his Demand; and the States perceiving the Snare that was laid for them, immediately ſigned an Order to the Magiſtrates of *Roterdam* for ſeizing the Cornet, and delivered it into his Hands: But ſo contrived the Matter, that the

Officers who were appointed to take him in Cuſtody, walked ſo long before his Door, that he had time to go out by a back way, and by that means made his eſcape.

Our ancient and hearty Friend Mr. Treaſurer *Steiger* falling into a Paralytical Diſtemper, of which he ſoon after died, ſurrendred his Employments into the Hands of their Excellencies, and one Monſieur *Velden* was choſen to ſucceed him, who being well informed of the many Favours we had received from his Predeceſſor, aſſured us upon his firſt Journey into our Parts, That he would do us all the good Offices that ſhould be in his Power, and would be as careful of our Concernments as the late Treaſurer had been. And here I may not omit, that one *La Rue* of *Lyons*, who had been engaged with *Du Pre* in his Attempt to aſſaſſinate us, having ſome Acquaintance with Monſieur *Du Four* a Merchant of *Geneva*, wrote a Letter to let him know that he had heartily repented of that Action, and would be more ready to ſerve us for the future than he had been to take part in ſo baſe a Deſign. He informed him alſo that the Iriſhman, who had paſs'd under the Name of *Riardo*, and was one of the principal Inſtruments that were employed againſt us by the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, had lately been at *Lyons*, and had told him, That if he had known how many well-wiſhers I had among the beſt of his Friends, he would not have enter'd into any

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Engagement againſt me; That he had quitted the Service of the King of *England* on account of his Ingratitude, and that he deſired above all Things to have my good Opinion, and to keep a conſtant Correſpondence with me; That he had been with Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, where he had met with ſo good reception, that he had reſolved never more to apply himſelf to the Court, and that he would ſerve the honeſt Party in *England* with the laſt drop of his Blood; all which being communicated to me by Monſieur *Du Four*, I concluded, that *Riardo* (if not *La Rue* alſo) deſigned, according to the beſt of his Underſtanding, to act the Devil's part, firſt to enſnare and then to accuſe.

In the mean time Colonel *Balthazar* who had entertained this *Riardo* at his Houſe whilſt the deſign of our Aſſaſſination was forming, and had received *Roux* alſo with the ſame familiarity, finding himſelf diſappointed in the hopes he had conceived and openly publiſhed of our removal from *Vevay*, reſolved to take new Meaſures, and to employ Artifices to perſuade their Excellencies to withdraw their Protection from us. To this end he went to Commiſſary-General *Godart*, who was a Member of the Council of *Bern*, and pretending to have received Letters from *England*, informed him, That the Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Savoy* then in that Court, had offered to the Commiſſioners appointed to

treat with him, That if the King of *England* would by his Intereſt and other Means, endeavour to procure the reſtitution of ſuch Places as were kept from him by the Canton of *Bern*, his Maſter would undertake to deliver us dead or alive into his Hands. The Commiſſary-General coming to *Vevay* by order of their Excellencies to terminate ſome Matters in diſpute between the Baron *de Chaſteler* and his Tenants, was pleaſed to give me an account of this Buſineſs; and upon Conference we agreed, That there was no probability of any ſuch Offers made, for many Reaſons, and particularly that the Duke had refuſed to countenance the Deſign againſt us, when he had been ſollicited by *Riardo* and others to that purpoſe; concluding it to be a contrivance of *Balthazar* to perſuade the Government that the Favour extended to us might prove prejudicial to the publick Safety. But he who had endeavoured to bring us into Danger, could not without difficulty preſerve himſelf. For the Court of *France* upon Information that *Roux*, who had been executed at *Paris*, as I have already related, had left his Papers in *Balthazar*'s Houſe, ſent a Party of between twenty or thirty Horſe into the *Pais de Gex*, who hovering about that Country for ſome time put him into ſo great a Fright that he burnt the Papers. He had at firſt ſlighted the Report; but being informed by one *Beauregard* his Wife's Brother that ſome of

of them were the ſame who had aſſiſted Monſieur *Martel* in ſeizing *Roux*, he made the beſt Proviſion he could for his Defence.

As the Memory of thoſe Men whoſe Lives have been remarkable for great and generous Actions, ought to be tranſmitted to Poſterity with the Praiſes they have deſerved, that others may be excited to the Imitation of their Virtues: 'Tis as juſt that the Names of thoſe who have render'd themſelves deteſtable by the Baſeneſs of their Crimes, ſhould be recorded, that Men may be deterr'd from treading in their Steps, leſt they draw upon themſelves the ſame Infamy. For this Reaſon I think it neceſſary to inſert in this Place the true Names of ſome of thoſe Aſſaſſins who were employ'd by the Court of *England* and others to take away our Lives, as I received them from an Engliſh Gentleman who was well acquainted with their Affairs, and who having paſſed ſome time in *Italy*, made me a Viſit at *Vevay* in his return to *England*. He aſſured me that the Villain who murder'd Mr. *Liſle* by ſhooting him into the Back, is an Iriſh-man and named *O Croli*; that the Name of his Companion, who waited with a freſh Horſe to carry him off, is *Cotter*, and that he is a Native of the ſame Country; That the Aſſaſſin who goes under the Name of *Riardo* is alſo an Iriſh-man, and his true Name *Mac Carty*, who having murther'd one Colonel *Dillon* his Country-man at *Paris*, had been pu-

puniſhed with death, if the Queen-Mother of *England* had not interceeded for him and procured his Pardon, for the good Services he had already done, and others that he promiſed to do for the time to come. Which Favour that he might farther merit, he went into *Holland* ſoon after he was diſcharged from Priſon, where he attempted to aſſaſſinate one Mr. *Will, Carr*, who having been a Servant to the King, had taken liberty to write ſome Things that diſpleaſed the Court, and on that account had been obliged to retire from *England*.

The King of *France* making great Preparations for War, obtained a new Levy of *Switzers* from the Cantons, and procured ſix thouſand Men to be raiſed in *England* to be imploy'd in his Service. And that he might divide the Strength of the Empire, and render them uncapable of aſſiſting the *Hollanders* when he ſhould think fit to attack them, he ſent an Agent into *Hungary* to foment the Diſcontents of that People who had been invaded in their Privileges, and perſecuted for Religion by the influence of the Emperor's bigotted Council. He cauſed his Brother the Duke of *Orleans* to marry the Daughter of the Elector *Palatine*, and on that account made many large Promiſes to that Prince which were never performed. He tamper'd with divers other Princes of *Germany*; and knowing that the Elector of *Cologn* had a Deſign to ſeize and ſubvert the Rights and Privileges of that City,

City, he tempted him with Offers of his Assistance. The Court of *England* on their part recalled Sir *William Temple* from his Employment in *Holland*, suspecting him not to favour the French Interest, but rather to be zealously inclined to maintain the Triple Alliance which they were resolved to break, and sent *Downing* to supply his Place who was a much fitter Instrument to carry on the Designs they had on foot. And since my Subject has led me to speak of this Gentleman, I must here acknowledge, That tho' *Downing* had acted contrary to his Faith, former Pretences and Obligations, in betraying our Friends as I mentioned before; yet none of those who remained in *Holland*, or afterwards retired thither were ever molested during his Ministry, which was as much as could reasonably be expected from a Person in his Post. To this was added an Attempt, which for the singularity of the thing deserves to be remember'd. For upon notice that a considerable number of Dutch Men of War were riding in the Channel, the King to procure by any means some Pretences for the intended War, gave Orders to the Commander of a Yacht to pass through the Fleet, and to oblige the Admiral to take down his Flag. The Captain, pursuant to his Instructions sets sail with his Yacht, and encountring the whole Dutch Fleet, who would not be brought to take down the Flag, falls upon them and fired on all sides till his Powder

der and Ball was quite ſpent. But the Dutch well underſtanding the deſign of this Inſult, choſe rather to ſuffer patiently the tearing of their Tackle, than to return one Shot. Thus they endeavoured by all means to keep fair Weather with their Neighbours: And that they might prevent the City of *Cologn* from falling into the Hands of thoſe who might make uſe of it to their Prejudice, they treated with the Magiſtrates of that Place, and finding them diſpoſed to receive their Aſſiſtance, they ſent them a Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel *Bampfield*.

The Canton of *Bern* having raiſed Two thouſand four hundred Men for the Service of the King of *France* in twelve Companies, proceeded to nominate the Officers that were to command ten of them, leaving to that King the nomination of Officers for the other two, according to the Agreement made between them. They ſtipulated in their Treaty, That none of their Forces ſhould be employ'd againſt any People of the Reformed Religion; which Condition was readily accepted by the King of *France*, who knew that if he ſhould break with the King of *Spain* or the Emperor, he might uſe the Proteſtant *Switzers* againſt them, whilſt thoſe that were furniſhed by the Popiſh Cantons ſhould be employ'd againſt the Dutch. This Contract with *France* was made without conſulting the other Cantons, and at a lower rate than had been ſettled by the

the laſt Treaty with that Crown; on which laſt account chiefly ſome Members of this Union ſhewed themſelves much diſguſted. But upon the whole Matter, tho' I have heard many Arguments brought to juſtify the way uſed by the *Switzers* for keeping their People continually exerciſed to Arms, yet it were to be wiſh'd, that ſome Means might be found to cauſe this Traffick to ceaſe, and to perſuade thoſe who have Authority, to examine the Juſtice of every Cauſe in which they engage, and not to ſuffer their Subjects to make a Trade of War. The King of *France* was much diſpleaſed with the Government of *Zurich* for refuſing to permit any Levies of Men to be made among them at this time; but he ſent Letters of Thanks to thoſe of *Bern* for their ready compliance with his Demands, confirming what had been promiſed on his part, and offering (as they had deſired) his Mediation to compoſe the Differences between them and the Biſhop of *Baſle*, with Aſſurances of his Aſſiſtance to conſtrain the Biſhop to accept reaſonable Conditions. He promiſed to maintain them in poſſeſſion of the *Pais de Veaux*, and to pay all the Arrears of Penſions that ſhould appear to be due to any of them.

In the mean time the Dutch with the utmoſt diligence prepare to ſend out their Fleet. They nominated *Michael Adrian de Ruyter* to be their Admiral, and the Heer *Cornelius de Wit*

Wit to be Commiſſioner for the States at Sea, allowing a Guard of twelve Halberdiers to attend his Perſon. They hoped to prevent the Conjunction of the Engliſh and French Fleets, but could not: For the Engliſh having notice that the Count *D'Eſtrees*, who commanded the French, was arrived with his Ships at the Iſle of *Wight*, found means to join them in that Road, yet not without the loſs of one of their Frigats which carried thirty eight Guns, and was taken by the *Zelandia* almoſt without Reſiſtance, the Seamen being generally unwilling to be employ'd in this War. On the ſeventh of *June* 1672. the two Fleets engaged near *Solebay*, the French Squadron againſt Admiral *Bankart*; the Engliſh Blue Squadron, commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich*, againſt the Heer *Van Ghent* Admiral of *Amſterdam*; and the Red Squadron commanded by the Duke of *York*, againſt the Dutch Admiral *de Ruyter*. The Fight was bloody, and continued from Eight in the Morning to Sun-ſet. The French behaved themſelves as if they deſired to be Spectators rather than Actors in this Tragedy: The Duke of *York* was obliged to ſhift his Ship, either becauſe ſhe was diſabled, or the better to provide for his own Safety. But the greateſt Loſs fell upon the Blue Squadron, the Admiral of which was burnt by a Dutch Fireſhip, the Earl of *Sandwich* drown'd, many Voluntiers and Officers killed, with a great number of

of private Seamen. On the Dutch ſide, the Admiral of *Amſterdam*, the Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, and Captain *Brakel* were kill'd. Three of *De Wit*'s Guards were ſhot by his ſide, and a fourth loſt both his Legs by a Cannon Ball. After this Fight the French ſet Sail for *Breſt* and the Engliſh retired into Port, leaving the Dutch Maſters at Sea for that time.

The States of *Holland* well knowing that the Alliance between the Engliſh Court and the King of *France* was not at all pleaſing to the People of *England*, publiſhed a Declaration, to ſhew that they had been conſtrained to make War againſt the King and his private Council, who had deſigned and endeavoured to deprive them of their Commerce and Liberty, and to render the Crown of *England* abſolute and independent. But that they were ready to conſent that the People of *England* might Trade freely either with them or others. They diſcharged and ſet at Liberty ſuch Ships, Men and Merchandize belonging to the Engliſh Nation, as they had ſeized in their Ports in requital of the Attempt made by the Court of *England* to ſurprize their Homeward-bound *Smyrna* Fleet, before any Declaration of War had been publiſhed againſt them. Theſe Things obliged the King to promiſe Reſtitution of what had been unjuſtly taken from the Dutch before the date of the ſaid Declaration. But whatever Advantages the

the Dutch might have by Sea, they were infinitely over-balanced by their Loſſes at Land.

The King of *France* having drawn together One hundred and twenty thouſand effective Men, divided them into three Bodies: The Firſt, conſiſting of Seventy thouſand, he took under his own peculiar Command. At the Head of the Second, which was of Forty thouſand, he placed the Prince of *Conde*; and gave about Ten thouſand Men more to the Count of *Chamilly* to ſerve as a Flying Camp. All theſe Forces directing their march towards *Maſtricht*, a Council of War was held in the King's Quarters, and a Debate ariſing about beſieging that Place, it was adjudged to be an Enterprize ſo full of Hazard and Difficulty by reaſon of the numerous Garriſon and good Fortifications about the Town, that they reſolved to turn their march towards the *Rhine*, where the Places were not in ſo good Condition. Yet it was thought convenient to leave *Chamilly* near *Tongeren* to prevent the Excurſions of the Garriſon of *Maſtricht*, which was done. The two Armies commanded by the King and Prince of *Conde* marched ſeveral Days without ſeeing an Enemy, except only about Two hundred Men who had intrenched themſelves on the ſide of the *Rhine*, and rendred themſelves Priſoners after little Reſiſtance. From thence the Prince of *Conde* was ſent to beſiege *Weſel*, whilſt the King beſieged *Orſoy*, and

and the Mareſchal *Turenne Burick*. Theſe three Sieges being undertaken at the ſame time cauſed a general Alarum. But when they ſaw that *Orſoy* had hardly held out twenty four Hours, and that *Burick* and *Weſel* had been ſurrendred in little more than the ſame time, the Conſternation greatly increaſed. The Governor of *Weſel*, which was accounted a ſtrong Place, was ſentenced to loſe his Head; but having ſome Friends about the Prince of *Orange*, the Executioner was order'd only to paſs the Sword over him. The Count *Deſtrades* was, in conſideration of his Services and particular Correſpondencies in *Holland*, made Governor of this Place. *Reez*, *Emerik*, *Beavize* and *Dedekom* follow'd the Example; and an Iriſh-man who commanded at *Rhijnberg*, finding himſelf beſieg'd by the King of *France*, was ſo frighted, that he delivered the Town without a Shot; and was afterwards beheaded for his Cowardice. The King deſigning to paſs the *Yſſel*, in order to attack the Places on the other ſide of that River, communicated his Deſign to the Prince of *Conde* and to the Mareſchal *de Turenne*, who having diſſuaded him from the Attempt as too dangerous, it was reſolved to try to paſs the *Rhine*, which they thought more practicable. In purſuance of this Reſolution, they procured the beſt Advice they could get, and were informed by a Betrayer of his Country, that there was a Place where the

Water was low and the Paſſage ſafe: Which being tried and found to be according to the Information, the King expreſſed more than ordinary Satisfaction, becauſe he could as well enter the Country that way as by the *Yſſel*, and fall upon the Enemies Rear. The Dutch ſuſpecting this Place, had already ſent an Officer to ſecure the Paſſage; but he finding himſelf too weak, abandoned the Poſt with the Approbation of the States Deputies; and Lieutenant General *Wurtz* was ſent by the Prince of *Orange* with a greater Force. By this means much time was loſt, and the King of *France* had lieſure to erect Batteries, which gall'd the Horſe of *Wurtz* in ſuch a manner, that they found themſelves obliged to ſhelter in the Woods. All Things being prepared by the French, part of a Regiment of Horſe paſſed the River, and were received ſo warmly by *Wurtz*, that they were forced back into the Water: But being ſeconded by more of their Companions, they ſoon became ſtrong enough to make good their Ground, and to put the Dutch Horſe to Flight. However in this Paſſage the Duke of *Longueville* Nephew to the Prince of *Conde* was killed, and the Prince himſelf wounded in the Wriſt by a Musket-ball. After this the French took the Caſtle of *Tolhuys*, and laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*; which ſo terrified the Dutch, that they abandoned all their Intrenchments: So that the King, who had

deſigned

deſigned to attack them, finding that Work over, repaſſed the River, and ſent the Mareſchal *Turenne* to command the Prince of *Conde*'s Army during his abſence. Then the King reſolved to paſs the *Yſſel*, and was not a little ſurprized to find the Paſſage ſo eaſy, and quite otherwiſe than had been repreſented to him. Having beſieg'd and taken *Doesburg*, Deputies arrived in his Camp from *Utrecht*, offering to deliver the Town and Dependencies. The Duke of *Orleans* took *Zutphen* in *Gelderland*; and the King himſelf advanced to *Utrecht*, having ſent a Lieutenant-General with ſome Troops to take Poſſeſſion before. Here he received the Dutch Ambaſſadors who were ſent by the States to know upon what Terms he would treat. In the mean time the Mareſchal *Turenne* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Arnheim*, the Fort of *Knotſemburg* and *Nimeguen*; which laſt Place was better defended than any other had been. Upon this News the Dutch abandoned *Graven*, which *Turenne* ſiezed. *Bommel* and the *Sckincken Scans* fell alſo into the Hands of the French: The Biſhop of *Munſter* took *Grol* and *Deventer*: And the Marquis *de Roehefort* made himſelf Maſter of *Naerden* and ſome other Places.

This aſtoniſhing Succeſs attending the French in every Attempt, drove the common People of *Holland* into Rage and Deſpair. Diſaſters came ſo thick upon them, that they could not diſcern the Inequality of their Forces

when compared to the united Strength of *France* and *England*. They would not reflect upon the natural Impetuosity of the French Nation, or the suddenness of the Invasion: But in spite to common Sense would needs believe that Men of Republican Principles had conspired to betray the Common-wealth to one or both of the Confederated Monarchs. And tho' I am not concerned to defend those who at that time had the principal part in the Administration of Affairs in *Holland*; yet the King of *England* himself shall be their Compurgator, not only on his own Account, but also in respect of his Brother of *France*. His Words are these: *The Insolencies, and continual Contrivances against me, of certain Persons, who for some time past have had the principal direction of Affairs in the Government of the* United Netherlands, *have necessitated me to make an Alliance with the Most Christian King, who also has the same Grounds of Complaint against them, having no other end, than to suppress the insupportable Greatness of the* Louvestein *Faction; and to secure our selves from the like Insults and Affronts for the time to come*, &c. But the People being deaf to all Reason, Things every where tended to Sedition and Tumult; divers of the Clergy, particularly one *Lantman* at the *Hague*, and *Borstius* at *Roterdam*, exciting the Populace both by Printing and Preaching, against their Governors. In this unhappy State of Affairs it

Letter written by K. Ch. 2.

fell

fell out, that on the 20th of *June* 1672. the Penſionary *John de Wit* coming out of the Council in the *Hague* at eleven a Clock at Night, accompanied only by one Servant who carried a Torch in his Hand, was aſſaulted by four Perſons, wounded, and left for dead. The next Day one of theſe Aſſaſſins by Name *Jacob Vander Graef* was ſeized, tried, condemn'd, and in a few days executed, the States of *Holland* judging this Expedition to be abſolutely neceſſary for the Security of their own Perſons in the exerciſe of their Employments. On the 24th of *July* in the ſame Year *Cornelius de Wit*, ancient Burger-maſter of *Dort*, Grand Baily of *Putten*, and elder Brother to the Penſionary, was brought Priſoner to the *Hague*, upon the Accuſation of one *Tichelaar* a Barber-Surgeon, who depoſed, That the Priſoner would have hired him to poyſon the Prince of *Orange*. He was ſeveral times put to the Rack, and conſtantly aſſerted his Innocence. Yet he was ſentenced to loſe his Offices and Dignities, and to be baniſhed for ever from *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland*. This Sentence being publiſhed, cauſed Men to murmur, as their Paſſions variouſly inclined them. Some ſaid that if he were guilty, the Puniſhment was too little; and if innocent, too much. Others ſaid that he was certainly guilty, becauſe his Judges had ſet the Accuſer at liberty. *Tichelaar* in the mean time went about the *Hague*, and told the Peo-

ple that he had convicted the Grand Baily; which Suggeſtion brought great numbers of them about the Priſon-doors. In the mean time his Brother *John de Wit* came in his Coach to take him out of the Priſon, upon which one of the Populace cried out, *That now the two Traytors were together, they ſhould not eſcape.* In this inſtant a falſe Report was ſpread among the People, that ſome thouſands of Boors were coming to plunder the *Hague*, by which means the two Brothers were deprived of all hopes of Safety. For upon this Report, the Guards that been placed by the Council of State about the Priſon for the defence of the Priſoner, took occaſion to draw off, and left them to the Mercy of the Rabble; who growing impatient of any farther delay, immediately broke open the doors of the Priſon, and divers of them ruſhed into the Chamber where the two Brothers were. *John de Wit*, who was ſitting on the Bed-ſide with a Book in his Hand, demanded of them what they would have; and receiving for anſwer, that they ſhould ſee if they would go down, he took his Brother by the Hand and led him down to the Street; where they were no ſooner arrived, but the enraged Multitude fell upon them, and with a thouſand Wounds moſt barbarouſly murder'd them. The Particulars of this Cruelty are ſo abominable and ſo exceeding all Example, that I purpoſely omit any farther mention of this Tragical Story.

The

The King of *France* in pursuance of the Agreement he had made with the Canton of *Bern*, procured the Differences between them and the Bishop of *Basle* to be adjusted according to their Excellencies desire. But that part of the Treaty by which he had promised not to employ their Subjects against any of the Reformed Religion was not so well observed; for he had used them in the War against the States of *Holland*, and obliged them to serve on all Occasions without distinction, contrary to his Promise, and to the Oath that both Officers and Soldiers had taken before their departure from *Switzerland*. This Usage the *Swiss* Officers and Soldiers resenting, deputed one Monsieur *de Beur* an Officer of their Body to acquaint their Excellencies, That they had been constrained against their Inclinations to do what they had done. Of which the French having notice, they caused him to be seized at *Metz*, where he was put into a Dungeon. And tho' upon the Sollicitation of his Friends in *Switzerland*, their Excellencies desired his Liberty, they could not for some time obtain any more than a better Accommodation for him in the Prison; the late Successes of *France* having carried that Court to such a height, that they caused a Letter to be written by Monsieur *Stuppa* to the Canton of *Bern*, to let them know, That the King accounted himself little obliged to them for the Men they had raised under pretence of serving him; and

that he was better ſatisfied with the refuſal of the Canton of *Zurich*, than with their Grant which was accompanied with ſuch Reſtrictions and Regret. The Government of *Bern* finding their Affairs with *France* to be in this uncertain Condition, were doubtful what Meaſures to take in the Diſpute which had been on foot for ſome time, and ſtill continued between the Duke of *Savoy* and thoſe of *Geneva* on account of a Fort which had been built by the Duke within half a League of that City, under colour of a Magazine for the Veſſels he had built, and to ſecure a Port for their uſe; poſitively requiring all thoſe of *Geneva* who poſſeſſed Lands within the Juriſdiction of *Savoy*, to hear Maſs on pain of Forfeiture. However, the Proteſtant Cantons having ſeriouſly conſidered the Importance of this Affair, ſent to the Duke of *Savoy* to demand, Whether he would have Peace or War, and whether he would in all Things make good the Treaties that had been concluded with them by his Anceſtors, or not. But before the Duke had determined what Anſwer to give to this Meſſage, an Accident happen'd which ſerved to ſecure thoſe of *Geneva* from any Apprehenſions from *Savoy* at that time. For the Duke of *Savoy* having corrupted the Governor of *Savona* (which belongs to the Republick of *Genoa*) and received his Promiſe to put him into poſſeſſion of the Place, had raiſed Forces, and order'd them to march

march thither. But the Officers not agreeing, either concerning the manner, or the time of putting the Enterprize in execution, it was ſo long delay'd that the Government of *Genoa* had notice of their March; and ſuſpecting their Deſign, immediately removed the Governor and changed the Garriſon. The Duke finding his Project defeated, was yet unwilling to have it believed that he deſigned any Clandeſtin Attempt (for no ſort of Men will avow an unſucceſsful Treachery) and therefore he publiſhed a Declaration of the Reaſons that moved him to make War againſt *Genoa*; which were ſo ſlight and trivial, that it plainly appeared he rather ſought to cover his Deſign upon *Savona*, that that he had any juſt cauſe of Quarrel to pretend, it being notorious to all Perſons concern'd, that the Duke had receiv'd Offers of Satisfaction to the utmoſt of what he could demand. In conſequence of the Declaration his Forces poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Pieve*, a Place belonging to the *Genoeſes*, but of no great Strength or Importance. On the other ſide, the Government of *Genoa* ſent to complain to the King of *France*, That contrary to the Agreement, which he by his Agent had made between the Duke of *Savoy* and them, the Duke's Forces had attacked them in a hoſtile manner; but yet they omitted not, at the ſame time, to draw together what Force they could to do themſelves right, if other Means ſhould fail. The Duke's Army finding

finding *Pieve* not to be tenable, quitted the Place and marched to *Caſtelvecchio*, with intention to fortify it by reaſon of its advantagious Situation. But the *Genoeſes* well knowing the Importance of *Caſtelvecchio*, drew together about nine thouſand Men and ſeized all the Avenues, before the *Savoyards* had made any Proviſion for their Subſiſtence. So that the Governor with about three hundred Officers and Soldiers found no other way to prevent falling into the Hands of the Enemy but by withdrawing privately, which they effected, leaving the reſt to ſhift for themſelves, and the next day the *Genoeſes* poſſeſſed themſelves of the Place, killing and taking Priſoners all thoſe that were within. From thence they went to *Oneglia*, reſolving to ſtorm the Town by Sea and Land; but the *Savoyards* prevented them, and capitulated to leave both Officers and Soldiers to be Priſoners of War. In theſe Actions the Marq. of *Parella* with many of the principal Nobility, were taken and carried Priſoners to *Genoa*: Which, with ſome other Succeſſes obtained by that Common-wealth againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, obliged him to entertain cooler Thoughts than he had done, and to haſten his Anſwer to the Demands of the Proteſtant Cantons; in which he profeſſed, he would have no difference with them, being ſincerely deſirous of their Friendſhip; That, indeed, he had been much ſurprized they ſhould take any Umbrage on account of a

Houſe

Houſe he had built in his own Territories, and intereſt themſelves in the Differences which had happened between him and thoſe of *Geneva*, who, he ſaid, had broken the Treaty of St. *Julian*, which yet for their Excellencies ſake, he would obſerve, as if it were ſtill in full force.

A COL-

A Collection of Letters, AND OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO Divers Important Paſſages of the preceding Memoirs.

The King's Letters to the Queen.

I.

Oxford, 15. *Jan.* 9.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my laſt, which was by *Talbot*, the Scots Commiſſioners have ſent to deſire me to ſend a Commiſſion to the general Aſſembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am reſolved not to do; but to the end of making ſome uſe of this occaſion, by ſending an honeſt

honeſt Man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making a handſom Negative, I have demanded a Paſsport for *Philip Warwick*, by whom to return my Anſwer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that *Lenthall* the Speaker brags, That Cardinal *Mazarin* keeps a ſtrict Intelligence with him; though I will not ſwear that *Lenthall* ſays true, I am ſure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabran*, I am confident that either he or his Inſtructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertiſed from *London*, That there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (beſides four Scotch Commiſſioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Uxbridge* for the Place, though not yet the particular Perſons. I am likewiſe newly advertiſed that General *Goring* proſpers well where he is, and ſince *Monday* laſt hath taken 80 of the Rebels Horſe; and upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

POSTSCRIPT.

The ſetling of Religion, and the Militia, are the firſt to be treated on: And be confident, that I will neither quit Epiſcopacy, nor that Sword which God hath given into my Hands.

29. 15.
Copy to my Wife, 9 Jan. 1644.
By *P. A.*

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

Oxford,

II.

31.

Oxford, Sunday 30 *March.*

Dear Heart,

SINCE my laſt (which was but three days ago) there are no Alterations hapned of moment, Preparations rather than Actions being yet our chiefeſt Buſineſs, in which we hope that we proceed faſter than the Rebels, whoſe Levies both of Men and Mony (for certain) goes on very ſlowly; and I believe, they are much weaker than is thought even here at *Oxford*. For Inſtance, A very honeſt Servant of mine, and no Fool, ſhewed me a Propoſition from one of the moſt conſiderable *London* Rebels, who will not let his Name be known until he have hope that his Propoſition will take effect; it is this, That ſince the Treaty is ſo broken off, that neither the Rebels nor I can reſume it without at leaſt a ſeeming total yielding to the other, the Treaty ſhould be renewed upon thy Motion, with a pre-aſſurance that the Rebels will ſubmit to Reaſon. The Anſwer that I permitted my Servant to give, was, That thou art the much fitteſt Perſon to be the means of ſo happy and glorious a Work as is the Peace of this Kingdom; *but that upon no Terms thy Name was to be prophaned*, therefore he was to be *ſatisfied of the Rebels willingneſs to yield to Reaſon, before he would conſent that any ſuch intimation ſhould be made to thee, and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing muſt be inſiſted upon but according to my former Offers.* This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertiſe thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this conſequence.

I muſt

I muſt again tell thee, That moſt aſſuredly France *will be the beſt way for Tranſportion of the Duke of* Lorrain's *Army, there being divers fit and ſafe Places of landing for them upon the Weſtern Coaſts, beſides the Ports under my obedience, as* Shelſey *near* Chicheſter *and others, of which I will advertiſe thee when the time comes.*

By my next I think to tell thee when I ſhall march into the Field, for which Mony is now his greateſt want (I need ſay no more) who is eternally thine.

18. 31.

To my Wife, 30 *March*, 1645. by *Petit.*

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

III.

30.

Oxford, Thurſday 27 *March.*

Dear Heart,

I Wrote to thee yeſterday by *Sakefield*, the Subject of it was only Kindneſs to thee; which, I aſſure thee, ſhall ever be viſible in all my Actions: And now I come to *Jermin*'s Account, given me by thy command, which is very clear, hopeful in moſt Particulars, and abſolutely ſatisfactory as concerning thy Care and Induſtry. As for the main Impediment in the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Buſineſs (which is his Paſſage) why may thou not procure him Paſſage through *France?* (if that of *Holland* be ſtuck at) it will much ſecure and facilitate the Sea-tranſportation in reſpect of landing on the Weſtern

ern Coaſt, which I believe will be found the beſt, there being not ſo many Places to chuſe on, any where elſe. But this an Opinion, not a Direction.

The general Face of my Affairs methinks begins to mend, the Diſſenſions at *London* rather increaſing than ceaſing, *Montroſſe* daily proſpering, my Weſtern Buſineſs mending apace, and hopeful in all the reſt. So that if I had reaſonable Supplies of Mony and Powder (not to exclude any other) I am confident to be in a better condition this Year, than I have been ſince this Rebellion began; and poſſibly I may put fair for the whole, and ſo enjoy thy Company again, without which nothing can be a Contentment unto me. And ſo farewel Dear Heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to beſtow Percies *Place on the M. of* Newcaſtle, *to whom yet I am no ways ingaged, nor will be before I have thy Anſwer. As for* Jack Barclay, *I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Maſter of the Wards: For* Cottington *had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary* Nich. *if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.*

I deſire thee to command Lord Jer. *to read to thee the D.'s Letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the Tranſportation of the Duke of* Lorrain's *Army.*

23. 30.
To my Wife, 27 *Mar.* 1645. by *P. A.*

This is a true Copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

IV.

Oxford, 39. *Sunday* 4 *May*.

Dear Heart,

THE Rebels new brutish General hath refused to meddle with Foreign Passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the way of *London*, which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West; and now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy Thoughts, for I thank God my Affairs begin to smile upon me again, *Wales* being well swept of the Rebels. *Farrington* having relieved it self; and now being secured by *Goring*'s coming, my Nephews likewise having brought me a strong Party of Horse and Foot, these Quarters are so free that I hope to be marching within three or four Days, and am still confident to have the start of the Rebels this Year: I am likewise very hopeful that my Son will shortly be in the Head of a good Army; for this I have the chearful assurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde*: Of late I have been much pressed to make *Southampton* Master of my Horse, not so much for good Will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might return to a capacity of recosening me; wherein if I had done nothing, both Jealousie and Discontents were like to arise, wherefore I thought fit to put my Nephew *Rupert* in that Place, which will both save me Charge, and stop other Mens Grumblings: I have now no more to say, but praying for and impatiently expecting of good News from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my Wife, 4 *May* 1645. By *Malin St. Ravy*.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

Oxford,

V.

13.

Oxford, 2 *Jan.*

Dear Hart,

HAving decyphered thine which I received yesterday, I was much surprized to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee never any Dispatch went from either of my Secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

" As for my calling those at *London* a Parlia-
" ment, I shall refer thee to *Digby* for particular
" Satisfaction; this in general; If there had been
" but two (besides my Self) of my Opinion; I had
" not done it; and the Argument that prevailed
" with me, was, That the calling did no ways
" acknowledge them to be a Parliament, upon
" which condition and construction I did it and no
" otherways, and accordingly it is registred in the
" Council-books, with the Councils unanimous
" approbation: but thou wilt find, that it was by
" misfortune not neglect that thou hast been no
" sooner advertised of it.

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know, thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it; the fear of some such mischance made me the more careful to give thee a full account by *Tom. Elot*, of the Reasons of the D. of *R.* and E. of *S.* Journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough I am con-

fident will free thee from much trouble; but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my Actions, before thou hearest the Reasons of them from me, thou may'st be often subject to be doubly vext, first with Slanders, then with having given too much Ear unto them. To conclude, esteem me as thou findest me constant to those Grounds thou lefts me withal, and so farewel Dear Heart.

21. 13.
Copy to my Wife, 2 *Jan.* 1645. by *P. A.*

4.
This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

VI.

21.
Oxford, 19 *Feb.* O. S.

Dear Heart,

I Cannot yet send thee any certain Word concerning the issue of our Treaty; only, the unreasonable stubbornness of the Rebels, gives daily less and less hopes, of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no Rumors shall hinder thee from hastning all thou may'st, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of *Lorrains*; concerning which I received yesterday good News from Dr. *Goffe*, That the Prince of *Orange* will furnish Shipping for his Transportation, and that the rest of his Negotiation goes hopefully on; by which, and many other ways, I find thy Affection so accompanied with dexterity,

as

as I know not whether (in their ſeveral kinds) to eſteem moſt; but I will ſay no more of this, leſt thou may think that I pretend to do this way what is but poſſible to be done by the continued actions of my Life; tho' I leave News to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, That even now I have received certain Intelligence of a great Defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montroſe*; who upon ſurprize totally routed thoſe Rebels, and killed 1500 upon the Place. Yeſterday I received thine of 27 *Jan.* by the *Portugal* Agent, the only way (but Expreſſes) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to ſend them to thee; indeed *Sabran* ſent me word yeſterday, beſides *ſome Complements of the Imbargo of the Rebels Ships in* France, *(which I likewiſe put upon thy ſcore of kindneſs)* but is well enough content that the *Portugal* ſhould be charged with thy Diſpatches. As for truſting the Rebels either by going to *London*, or disbanding my Army before a Peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly: For I eſteem the intereſt thou haſt in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more Wit (at leaſt by the Sympathy that is betwixt us) then to put my ſelf into the reverence of perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the Expreſs thou haſt promiſed me, I reſt eternally thine.

I can now aſſure thee, That Hertogen *the Iriſh Agent, is an errant Knave, which ſhall be made manifeſt to thee by the firſt opportunity of ſending Packets.*

11. 21.
To my Wife, 19 *Feb.* 1645. by *P. A.*

4.
This is a true Copy, examined by
Edmond Prideaux.

VII.

20.

Dear Heart,

THE expectation of an Expreſs from thee (as I find by thine of the 4 *Febr.*) is very good News to me, as likewiſe that thou art now well ſatisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our Treaty, there is every day leſs hopes than other, that it will produce a Peace. But I will abſolutely promiſe thee, That if we have one, it ſhall be ſuch as ſhall invite thy return. For I avow, That without thy Company I can neither have Peace nor Comfort within my ſelf. The limited Days for treating, are now almoſt expired without the leaſt agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have ſent for enlargement of Days, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the World. And I aſſure thee, that thou *needſt not doubt the iſſue of this Treaty; for my Commiſſioners are ſo well choſen, (though I ſay it) that they will neither be threatned nor diſputed from the Grounds I have given them; which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou ſo well remembers.* And in this not only their obedience, but *their* judgments concur. I confeſs in ſome reſpects thou haſt reaſon to bid me beware of going too ſoon to *London*: For indeed ſome amongſt us had a greater mind that way than was fit; of which Perſuaſion *Percy* is one of the chief, who is ſhortly like to ſee thee, of whom having ſaid this, is enough to ſhew thee how he is to be truſted, or believed by thee concerning our Proceedings here. *In ſhort, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hoteſt for War of any that hath been yet: And be confident, that in making Peace, I*

ſhall

ſhall ever ſhew my conſtancy in adhering to Biſhops, and all our Friends, and not forget to put a ſhort period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou loves me, let none perſuade thee to ſlacken thine aſſiſtance for him who is eternally thine, C. R.

15. 4.
Oxford, 25 *Feb.* 1645.
3. 20.

To my Wife, 15 *Feb.* 1645. by *P. A.*
This is a true Copy, examined by *Edmond Prideaux.*

VIII.

22.

Dear Heart,

NOW is come to paſs what I foreſaw, the fruitleſs end (as to a preſent Peace) of this Treaty; but I am ſtill confident, that I ſhall find very good effects of it: For beſides that my Commiſſioners have offered, to ſay no more, full meaſured Reaſon, and the Rebels have ſtuck rigidly to their Demands, which I dare ſay had been too much tho' they had taken me Priſoner, ſo that aſſuredly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewiſe at this time diſcovered, and ſhall make it evidently appear to the World, That the *Engliſh* Rebels, (whether baſely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies, tranſmitted the command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the Scots, which (beſides the reflection it will have upon theſe Rebels) will clearly ſhew, that Reformation of the Church is not the chief, much leſs the only end of the Scotch Rebellion; but it being Preſumption, and no Piety, ſo to truſt to a good cauſe, as not to uſe *all lawful means*

means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furniſh thee with for my aſſiſtance, than hitherto thou haſt had: It is that I give thee Power to promiſe in my Name (to whom thou thinkeſt moſt fit) that I will take away all the Penal Laws againſt the Roman *Catholicks in* England *as ſoon as God ſhall inable me to do it; ſo as by their means, or in their favours, I may have ſo powerful aſſiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a Favour, and enable me to do it.* But if thou ask what I call that Aſſiſtance; I anſwer, that when thou knoweſt what may be done for it, it will be eaſily ſeen, if it deſerve to be ſo eſteemed. I need not tell thee what Secrecy this Buſineſs requires; yet this I will ſay, that this is the greateſt point of Confidence I can expreſs to thee; for it is no Thanks to me to truſt thee in any thing elſe but in this which is the only thing of difference in Opinion betwixt us; *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a Bargain for me, even in this.* I truſting thee (tho' it concern Religion) as if thou wert a Proteſtant, the viſible good of my Affairs ſo much depending on it. I have ſo fully intruſted this Bearer *Pooly*, that I will not ſay more to thee now, but that herewith I ſend thee a new Cypher (aſſuring thee, that none hath or ſhall have any Copy of it but my ſelf) to the end thou may'ſt uſe it, when thou ſhalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy Pains to put in Cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and ſo likewiſe from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

20. 23.
To my Wife, the 5 *March*, 1645. by *Pooly*.
4.
This is a true Copy, examined by
Edmond Prideaux.

The

IX.

The little that is here in Cypher, is in that which I ſent to thee by *Pooly*.

33. *Oxford, Wed.* 9 *April* 1645.

Dear Heart,

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a ſlow Meſſenger, yet all occaſions, of this (which is now the only) way of converſing with thee, are ſo welcome to me as I ſhall be loath to loſe any; but expect neither News or publick Buſineſs from me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by my ſelf even theſe nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I ſhould chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too ſudden taking Alarms; I pray thee conſider, ſince I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is unſeparably conjoyned with thine, muſt not all my Actions tend to ſerve and pleaſe thee? *If thou knew what a Life I lead, (I ſpeak not in reſpect of the common diſtractions) even in point of Converſation, which in my mind is the chief joy or vexation of ones Life, I dare ſay thou would pity me; for ſome are too wiſe, others too fooliſh, ſome too buſie, others too reſerved, many fantaſtick. In a word, when I know none better (I ſpeak not now in relation to Buſineſs) then* 3 9 8. 270.55:5:7:67:18. 294:35:69: 16:54:6:38:1: 67: 68: 9: 66: *thou may eaſily judge how my Converſation pleaſeth me.* I confeſs thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleaſed, but not leſs to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this Diſeaſe. The end of all is this, to deſire thee to comfort me as often as thou can with thy Letters, and doſt not thou think, that to know particulars of

of thy Health, and how thou ſpendeſt the time, are pleaſing Subjects unto me, though thou haſt no other Buſineſs to write of? Believe me, ſweet Heart, thy Kindneſs is as neceſſary to comfort my Heart, as thy aſſiſtance is for my Affairs.

To my Wife 9 *April*, 1645. by *Binion*.

This is a true Copy examined by

Miles Corbet.

X.

Oxford, Thurſday 20 *March.*

Dear Heart,

UPon *Saturday* laſt I wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this I believe may come as ſoon to thee) and I have received thine of the ſeventh, upon *Munday* laſt, which gave me great contentment both in preſent and expectation, (the quick Paſſage being likewiſe a welcome Circumſtance) and yet I cannot but find a fault of omiſſion in moſt of thy latter Diſpatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy Health. For though I confeſs, that in this no News is good News, yet I am not ſo ſatisfied without a more perfect aſſurance; and I hope thou wilt by ſatisfying me confeſs the juſtneſs of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God ſend me a good unlading) for I look daily for ſome blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and I am confidently aſſured of a conſiderable and ſudden ſupply of Men from *Ireland*, likewiſe the refractory Horſe (as the *London* Rebels call them) may be reckoned in,

in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me; howſoever I doubt not, but if they ſtand out (as it is probable) good uſe may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next Week, having ſent to try their Pulſes; *Petit* came yeſterday, but he having at *London* thruſt his Diſpatches into the States Ambaſſadors Paquets, I have not yet received them, and I would not ſtay to lengthen this in anſwer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Weſtern News, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within theſe three or four Days; only I congratulate with thee for the ſafe arrival of thy Tina adventure at *Callis*: And ſo farewel Sweet Heart.

Thine of the 10th I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much miſtakes me concerning *Ir.* for I deſire nothing more than Peace there, and never forbad thy commerce there; only I gave thee warning of ſome *Iriſh* in *France*, whom I then thought, and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife 20 *of* March $164\frac{3}{4}$. *by* P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Pridcaux.

Droit

XI.

Droit Wiche, Wedneſday 14 May.

Dear Heart,

MArching takes away the conveniency of ſending my Letters ſo ſafe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*; however I ſhall not fail to do what I can to ſend often to thee; there is ſo little News for the preſent, as I will leave that Subject for others, only upon *Saturday* laſt I received a Diſpatch from *Montroſe*, which aſſures me his Condition to be ſo good, that he bids me be confident that his Country-men ſhall do me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500 Horſe, he would undertake to bring me 20000 Men before the end of this Summer. For the general ſtate of my Affairs we all here think to be very hopeful; this Army being of a good ſtrength, well ordered, and increaſing; my Sons ſuch, that *Fairfax* will not be refuſed to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good Satisfaction from himſelf. Its true that I cannot brag for ſtore of Mony, but a ſharp Sword always hinders ſtarving at leaſt; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly we ſhall make as good a ſhift with empty Purſes as they) or they muſt have ſome greater defect, elſe their Levies could not be ſo backward as they are, for I aſſure thee that I have at this inſtant many more Men in the Field then they. I am not very confident what their Northern Forces are, but except they are much ſtronger then I am made believe, I may likewiſe include them.

Now

Now I must make a complaint to thee of my Son *Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou maist suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the Breach of my Word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is this, he hath sent to desire me, That Sir* John Greenfield *may be sworn Gentleman of his Bedchamber, but already so publickly ingaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my Son and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his Fathers Merits, his own Hopefulness, besides the great Power that Family has in the* West: Yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my Son for ingaging himself without one of our Consents; then, not to refuse thy own Consent; and lastly, to believe that directly or indirectly, I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of my Son's Letter. So farewel, Sweet Heart, and God send me good News from thee.

To my Wife, May 14, 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

XII.

Dear Heart,

I Know thy Affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to find my Reputation, as my Life in Danger: Therefore least the false sound of my offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unsafe

Terms

Terms ſhould diſturb thy Thoughts, I have thought it neceſſary (to aſſure thy Mind from ſuch Rumours) to tell thee the ways I have uſed to come to a Treaty, and upon what Grounds. I ſhall firſt ſhew thee my Grounds, to the end thou may the better underſtand and approve of my ways; Then know (as a certain truth) that all, even my Party, are ſtrangely impatient for Peace, which obliged me ſo much the more (at all occaſions) to ſhew my real intentions to Peace; *And likewiſe I am put in very good hope (ſome hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hinder me from a good Peace: Firſt, becauſe their own Party are moſt weary of the War, and likewiſe for the great Diſtractions which at this time moſt aſſuredly are amongſt themſelves, as* Presbyterians *againſt* Independants *in Religion, and General againſt General in point of Command: Upon theſe Grounds a Treaty being moſt deſirable (not without hope of good ſucceſs) the moſt probable means to procure it was to be uſed, which might ſtand with Honour and Safety; amongſt the reſt (for I will omit all thoſe which are unqueſtionably concelable) the ſound of my return to* London *was thought to have ſo much force of popular Rhetorique in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had, or if refuſed, it would bring much Prejudice to them, and be Advantagious to me; yet leaſt fooliſh or malicious People ſhould interpret this, as to proceed from Fear or Folly, I have joined Conditions with the Propoſition (without which this ſound will ſignifie nothing) which thou wilt find to be moſt of the chief Ingredients of an honourable and ſafe Peace.* Then obſerve, if a Treaty at *London* with Commiſſioners for both ſides may be had without it, it is not to be uſed; nor, in caſe they will treat with no Body but my Self, ſo that the Conditions ſave any aſperſion of Diſhonour, and the Treating at *London* the Malig-

nity

nity which our Factious Spirits here may infuse into this Treaty upon this Subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious Rumours; and though I judge my self secure in thy Thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any Baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thy self, this certain Truth, That no danger of Death or Misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy Love. For the State of my present Affairs I refer thee to 92. concluding (as I did in my last to thee) by conjuring thee, as thou loveſt me, that no appearance of Peace (and now I add) nor hopeful Condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste Succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. *by* Tom. Elliot.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

XIII.

Oxford, 13 *March*, Old-Style.

Dear Heart,

WHat I told thee the last Week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on *Munday* last handsomly performed; and now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantagious to my Self or Friends, in order to a Treaty, it will be meerly my own Fault, for I con-

ſeſſ

feſs when I wrote laſt, I was in fear to have been preſſed to make ſome mean overtures to renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpoſe :) But now I promiſe thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not without ſome eminent good ſucceſs on my ſide) it ſhall be to my Honour and Advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of baſe and mutinous Motions (that is to ſay, our Mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief Cauſers, for whom I may juſtly expect to be chidden by thee, for having ſuffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilmot* being already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Suſſex* within few Days taking his Journy to thee. But that I know, thou careſt not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences, yet I muſt tell thee, That if I knew not the perfect ſteadineſs of thy Love to me, I might reaſonably apprehend that their repair to thee would rather prove a change than an end of their Villanies ; and I cannot deny, but my Confidence in thee, was ſome cauſe of this permiſſive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of *March*, by which thou puts me in hope of aſſiſtance of Men and Mony, and it is no little expreſſion of thy Love to me, that (becauſe of my Buſineſs) Feſtivals are troubleſome to thee, *But I ſee that Aſſemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee*, and it may be done a purpoſe to make thee weary of their Companies, and excuſe me to tell thee in earneſt, that it is no wonder, that meer Stateſmen ſhould deſire to be rid of thee ; therefore I deſire thee to think whether it would not advantage thee much to make a perſonal Friendſhip with the Queen Regent, (without ſhewing any diſtruſt of her Miniſters, though not wholly truſting to them) and to ſhew her, That when her Regency comes out (and poſſibly before) ſhe may have need of her Friends, ſo

ſo that ſhe ſhall but ſerve her ſelf by helping of thee; and to ſay no more, but certainly if this Rebellion had not begun to oppreſs me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious then ſhe did. In the laſt place I deſire thee, to give me a Weekly account of thy Health, for I fear leaſt in that alone thou takeſt not care enough to expreſs thy Kindneſs to him who is eternally thine.

The *Northern* News is rather better than what we firſt heard, for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdales*, and *Montroſſes* Victories, *Carlile* and the reſt of our *Northern* Garriſons are relieved, and we hope for this Year ſecured, and beſides all this, the *Northern* Horſe are already returned and joyned with my Nephew *Rupert*.

To my Wife, 13 March, 164⅗.

By P. A. *This a true Copy examined by*

Edm. Prideaux.

XIV.

Daintrey, Sunday 8 *June.*

Dear Heart,

Oxford being free, I hope this will come ſooner to thee then otherwiſe I could have expected, which makes me believe, that my good News will not be very ſtale, which in ſhort is this, Since the taking of *Leiceſter*, my marching down hither to relieve *Oxford*, made the Rebels raiſe their Siege

before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garriſon, and loſt four hundred Men at an Aſſault before *Boſtoll-Houſe*; at firſt I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but are ſince gone aſide to *Brick-hill*, ſo as I believe they are weaker then they are thought to be; whether by their Diſtractions, (which are certainly very great,) *Fairfax* and *Browne* having been at Cudgels, and his Men and *Cromwell*'s likewiſe at Blows together, where a Captain was ſlain, or waſting their Men, I will not ſay: Beſides, *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the *Weſtern* Rebels, but I do not yet know the Particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much Sanguine) affirm, That (ſince this Rebellion) my Affairs were never in ſo fair and hopeful a way, though among our ſelves we want not our own Follies, which is needleſs, and I am ſure tedious to tell thee, but ſuch as I am confident ſhall do no harm, nor much trouble me: Yet I muſt tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz. Williams*, aſſuring me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted Kindneſs, which make me capable of taking contentment in theſe good Succeſſes; *For as divers Men purpoſe ſeveral Recompences to themſelves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion; ſo thy Company is the only reward I expect and wiſh for.*

To my Wife 9 June, 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

Dear

XV.

Dear Heart,

Sunday laſt I received three Letters from thee; one a Duplicate of the 30 *Decemb.* another of the 6 *Jan.* and the laſt of the 14 *Jan.* and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the laſt; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the Expreſſions of thy confident love of me, ſo I muſt extreamly wonder, that any who pretends to be a Friend to our Cauſe, (for I believe thou wouldeſt not mention any information from the other ſide) can invent ſuch Lies that thou haſt had ill Offices done to me by any; or that thy care for my aſſiſtance hath been the leaſt ſuſpected, it being ſo far from Truth, that the juſt contrary is true. For I proteſt to God I never heard thee ſpoken of, but with the greateſt Expreſſions of eſtimation for thy Love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my aſſiſtance: But I am confident that it is a Branch of that Root of Knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more then a bare ſuſpicion: And indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it ſhould be for not taking ſo much care of thine own Health as of my Aſſiſtance, at leaſt not giving me ſo often account of it as I deſire; theſe three laſt, making no mention of thy ſelf. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day) I deſire thee to be confident, that I ſhall never make a Peace by abandoning my Friends, nor ſuch a one as will not ſtand with my Honour and Safety; of which I will ſay no more, becauſe, knowing thy Love, I am ſure thou muſt believe me, and make others likewiſe confident of me.

I ſend thee herewith my Directions to my Commiſſioners, but how I came to make them my ſelf without any others, *Digby* will tell thee, with all the News, as well concerning Military as Cabaliſtical Matters. At this time I will ſay no more, but that I ſhall in all Things (only not anſwering for Words) truly ſhew my ſelf to be eternally thine.

The *Portugal* Agent hath made me two Propoſitions, firſt, concerning the releaſe of his Maſter's Brother, for which I ſhall have 50000 *l.* if I can procure his liberty from the King of *Spain*; the other is for a Marriage betwixt my Son *Charles* and his Maſter's eldeſt Daughter: For the firſt I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will *give ſuch an Anſwer, as ſhall ſignifie nothing*.

I deſire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabran*'s Relations, nor much countenance to the Iriſh Agents in *Paris*, the particular Reaſons thou ſhalt have by *Pooly*, (whom I intend for my next Meſſenger.) In the laſt place I recommend to thee the care of *Jerſey* and *Gernſey*, it being impoſſible for us here to do much, tho' we were rich, being weak at Sea.

To my Wife, 30 *Jan.* 164⅝. by *Legge*.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

Ormond,

XVI.

Ormond,

THE impoſſibility of preſerving my Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the War, having moved me to give you thoſe Powers and Directions; *Which I have formerly done for the concluding of a Peace there, and the ſame growing daily much more evident, that alone were reaſon enough for me, to enlarge your Powers, and to make my Commands in the point more poſitive. But beſides theſe Conſiderations, it being now manifeſt that the Engliſh Rebels have (as far as in them lies) given the Command of* Ireland *to the Scots; that their aim is at a total Subverſion of Religion and Regal Power, and that nothing leſs will content them, or purchaſe Peace here, I think my ſelf bound in Conſcience, not to let ſlip the means of ſettling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my Obedience; nor to loſe that Aſſiſtance which I may hope from my Iriſh Subjects, for ſuch Scruples as in a leſs preſſing condition might reaſonably be ſtuck at by me: For their Satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a Peace with the Iriſh, whatever it coſt, ſo that my Proteſtant Subjects there may be ſecured, and my Regal Authority preſerved; But for all this, you are to make me the beſt Bargain you can, and not diſcover your inlargement of Power till you needs muſt. And though I leave the managing of this great and neceſſary Work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, That if the ſuſpenſion of* Poining's *Act for ſuch Bills as ſhall be agreed upon between you there, and the preſent taking away of the Penal Laws againſt Papiſts, by a Law will do it, I ſhall not think it a hard Bargain; ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage themſelves in my aſſiſtance*

againſt my Rebels of England *and* Scotland, *for which no Conditions can be too hard, not being againſt Conſcience or Honour.*

Copy to *Ormond*, 27 *Febr.* $164\frac{4}{5}$.

A true Copy, *Zouch Tate.*

XVII.

To ORMOND.

Oxford, 16 *Feb.* 1644.

Ormond,

I Should wrong my own Service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherſton*, if I did not recommend him and his Buſineſs to you; for the Particulars of which I refer you to *Digby:* And now again I cannot but mention to you the neceſſity of the haſtening of the Iriſh Peace, for which I hope you are already furniſhed by me, with Materials ſufficient: But in caſe (againſt all expectation and reaſon) Peace cannot be had upon thoſe Terms, you muſt not by any means fall to a new Rupture with them, but continue the Ceſſation (according to a Poſtſcript in a Letter by *Jack Barry* (a Copy of which Diſpatch I herewith ſend you). So I reſt.

POSTSCRIPT.

In caſe upon particular Men's Fancies, the Iriſh Peace ſhould not be procured, upon Powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this

this further Order (which I hope will prove needleſs) to ſeek to renew the Ceſſation for a year, for which *you ſhall promiſe the Iriſh* (if you can have it no cheaper) *to join with them againſt the Scots and Inchequin*; for I hope by that time my Condition may be ſuch, as the Iriſh may be glad to accept leſs, *or I be able to grant more.*

A true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

XVIII.

To ORMOND.

Oxford, 7 *Jan.* 1643.

Ormond,

UPON the great Rumors and Expectations which are now of Peace, I think it neceſſary to tell you the true ſtate of it, leſt miſtaken Reports from hence might trouble my Affairs there.

" The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and " moſt aſſuredly, one of the firſt and chief Articles " they will inſiſt on, will be, to continue the Iriſh " War; *which is a point not popular for me to break on*; " of which you are to make a double uſe: Firſt, " to haſten (with all poſſible diligence) the Peace " there; the timely concluſion of which will take " off that Inconvenience which otherways I may be " ſubject to, by the refuſal of that Article, upon " any other Reaſon. Secondly, by dextrous con- " veying to the Iriſh, the danger there may be of " their total and perpetual excluſion from thoſe

" Favours I intend them, in caſe the Rebels here " clap up a Peace with me, upon reaſonable Terms, " and only exclude them; which poſſibly were not " councelable for me to refuſe, if the Iriſh Peace " ſhould be the only difference betwixt us, before " it were perfected there: Theſe I hope are ſufficient " Grounds for you to perſuade the Iriſh diligently " to diſpatch a Peace upon reaſonable Terms, aſ- " ſuring them that you having once fully engaged " to them my Word (in the concluſion of a Peace) " all the Earth ſhall not make me break it.

" But not doubting of a Peace, I muſt again re- " member you to preſs the Iriſh for their ſpeedy " aſſiſtance to me here, and their Friends in *Scot-* " *land:* My intention being to draw from thence " into *Wales* (the Peace once concluded) as many " as I can of my armed Proteſtant Subjects, and " deſire that the Iriſh would ſend as great a Body " as they can to land about *Cumberland*, which will " put thoſe Northern Counties in a brave condi- " tion; wherefore you muſt take ſpeedy order to " provide all the Shipping you may, as well *Dun-* " *kirk* as *Iriſh* Bottoms; and remember that after " *March* it will be moſt difficult to tranſport Men " from *Ireland* to *England*, the Rebels being Maſters " of the Seas: So expecting a diligent and particu- " lar account in anſwer to this Letter, I reſt

Your moſt aſſured conſtant Friend,

CHARLES R.

A true Copy. *Zouch Taze.*

XIX.

To ORMOND.

15 *Decemb.* 1644.

Ormond,

I AM ſorry to find by Colonel *Barry* the ſad condition of your particular Fortune, for which *I cannot find* ſo good and ſpeedy Remedy as the Peace of *Ireland*, it being likewiſe *to redreſs* moſt neceſſary Affairs here; wherefore I command you to diſpatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publick Diſpatch will give you ſufficient Inſtruction and Power; yet I have thought it neceſſary for your more Encouragement in this neceſſary Work, to make this addition with my own Hand. As for *Poining*'s Act I refer you to my other Letter: And for Matter of Religion, tho' I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the Paper which *Brown* gave you, yet I muſt command you to give him, *my L. Muskery*, and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, aſſuring them that without it, there could have been no Peace; and that ſticking to it, their Nation in general, and they in particular ſhall have comfort in what they have done, *and to ſhew that this is more then Words, I do hereby promiſe them, (and command you to ſee it done) that the Penal Statutes againſt Roman Catholiques ſhall not be put in Execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due Obedience; and further, that when the* Iriſh *give me that Aſſiſtance which they have promiſed, for the Suppreſſion of this Rebellion, and I ſhall be reſtored to my Rights, then I will conſent to the Repeal of them by a Law; but all thoſe againſt Appeals*

to

to Rome, *and Premunire muſt ſtand:* All this in Cypher you muſt impart to none, but thoſe three already named, and that with Injunction of ſtricteſt Secreſie: So again, recommending to your care the ſpeedy diſpatch of the Peace of *Ireland*, and my neceſſary ſupply from thence, as I wrote to you in my laſt private Letter, I reſt.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XX.

The Earl of Glamorgan's *Inſtructions to me, to be preſented to Your Majeſty.*

THat (God willing) by end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, he will Land with 6000 *Iriſh*.

That the Gentlemen of the ſeveral Counties of *Monmouth*, *Glamorgan*, *Brecknock*, and *Carmarthen*, will very ſpeedily for Your Majeſty's Service in ſecuring theſe Parts, raiſe and arm four thouſand Men.

That with the Ships which ſhall bring over the *Iriſh*, his Lordſhip deſigns to block up *Milford Haven*, at which time he doubts not to draw theſe *Welch* Forces into *Pembrock-ſhire*.

That to advance theſe his Undertakings, he hath Thirty thouſand Pounds ready, Ten thouſand Muskets, Two thouſand Caſe of Piſtols, Eight hundred Barrels of Powder; beſides, his own Artillery, and is aſcertained of Thirty thouſand Pounds more which will be ready upon his return.

That he hath intelligence from his Ships, that divers *Hollanders* and *Dunkirkers* come in daily to him.

In

In Order to this Service, he commanded me humbly to put Your Majeſty in mind of his Commiſſion, and that he may in fitting time have ſuch Command in theſe Counties as may be ſuitable to his Imployment, and conducing to the Service in hand: Theſe being Counties in which (if other deſigns of Landing fail) he can Land in; And that Your Majeſty will ſeriouſly conſider the Services he hath done you in compoſing the Diſtractions of the County of *Monmouth*: And that you will be pleaſed to countenance Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and graciouſly relieve the Country in ſuch things, as without prejudicing your Service may eaſe them.

Concerning the County of Monmouth *only.*

That by his Lordſhip's means (who hath now raiſed two Regiments himſelf;) Sir *Thomas Lunsford*'s Forces will be One thouſand eight hundred Foot, and Seven hundred Horſe, which Horſe is intended to be Quartred in the Forreſt of *Dean*, in places of ſecure Quartering, as *Langot*, attempted to have been taken by Sir *John Winter*, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the Forreſt, and ſecuring *Monmouth-ſhire*.

That by his Lordſhip's Intervention and Endeavours, Your Majeſty really ſees he hath much qualified the Senſe of the Grievances of the County, and moderated their Complaints by ſubducting the intended Petition, and therefore hopes Your Majeſty will ſo ſpecially commend their humble ſute to Prince *Rupert*, as it may be ſucceſsful.

That though the Prayer of their Petition is to reduce the contribution to the proportion ſet by the

the Parliament at *Oxford*, yet his Lordſhip hath ſo wrought, as theſe Petitioners have under their Hands obliged themſelves to continue the double payment for two Months more, and doubts not but in relation to the Exigence of your Majeſty's Service to prevail for further time.

His humble Sute is, That I may carry with me into the Country Your Majeſty's Order, that the Forces of Sir *Thomas Lunsford* may not be removed, but upon urgent Occaſion, until his Return; And that only upon Your Majeſty's or Prince *Rupert*'s ſpecial Order; otherwiſe it will be a great Obſtruction and Diſcouragement in raiſing or continuing the Number propoſed.

That Your Majeſty will be pleaſed in their Favour, to write your Letter to Prince *Rupert*, and that the Country may have the Honour to preſent it, to the end they may be eaſed of Free Quarter, Exactions above their Contribution, and unneceſſary Garriſons, that *Chepſtow* and *Monmouth* may be the better ſtrengthned.

That Sir *Thomas Lunsford* may be qualified with Authority, to protect them according to ſuch Order as the Prince ſhall make.

March 21 1644. Theſe preſented by your

Loyal Subject

Edward Boſdon.

This a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

Colonel

XXI.

Colonel Fitz-William *humbly prays, and propounds to the Queen as followeth.*

THat Your Sacred Majeſty will vouchſafe to prevail with His Majeſty, to condeſcend to the juſt demands of his *Iriſh* Subjects, the Confederate Catholicks in His Majeſty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, at leaſt in private.

That upon the Conſideration thereof, Colonel *Fitz-William* humbly propounds and undergoeth (with the approbation of Mr. *Hardegan*, now employed Agent for the ſaid Confederate Catholicks in *France*) to bring an Army of Ten thouſand Men, and more of His Majeſty's Subjects in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, for His Majeſty's Service into *England*.

That Colonel *Fitz-William* undertakes for the ſum of Ten thouſand pound Sterl. to Levy, Ship, and Arm the ſaid Ten thouſand Men, and ſo proportionably for more or leſs; and that the ſaid Mony may be put into ſuch Hands as may be ſafe for His Majeſty, as well as ready for the Colonel, when it ſhall appear the ſaid Army ſhall be in a readineſs to be tranſported into *England*.

That upon the Landing the ſaid Men, there ſhall be advanced to the Colonel one Months Pay for all the Army, according to the Muſter, for the preſent ſupport of the Army.

That Colonel *Fitz-William* may be Commander in Chief thereof, and diſpoſe of all the Offices, and only be commanded by His Majeſty, his Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, and Prince *Rupert*, and qualified with ſuch Commiſſions as hath been formerly granted to His Majeſty's Generals that have Commanded

manded Bodies apart from His Majeſty's own Army, as the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*, the Earl of *Kingſton* and others, hereby the better to enable him in the Levies as well as in the general Conduct of the Buſineſs; and that in reſpect the Parliament gives no Quarter to His Majeſty's *Iriſh* Subjects, therefore that the ſaid Forces ſhall not by any Order whatſoever be divided.

That the Colonel may be ſupplied with a Body of Horſe, of at leaſt Two thouſand, to be ready at the place of Landing.

That the Colonel may be provided with Ammunition and Artillery, or with Mony requiſite for himſelf to provide neceſſary Proportions to bring with him.

That the Army ſhall be paid as other Armies of His Majeſty.

Having taken theſe Propoſitions into Conſideration, We have thought fit to teſtifie our Approbation and Agreement thereunto under our Sign Manual, aſſuring what hath been deſired of us therein, ſhall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting to the Satisfaction of the Confederate *Catholicks* of His Majeſty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to the ſaid Colonel *Fitz-William*, ſo that we may juſtly expect an agreeable Compliance and Performance accordingly from all Parties in theſe ſeveral Concernments.

This is a true Copy of the Original ſent by Her Majeſty to the King, *May* 16, 1645.

A. Lowly, Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lord *Jermine*.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

To

XXII.

To my Wife, 14 Jan. 164⅞. by *Choquen.*

Dear Heart,

POoly came the $\frac{12}{22}$ *Jan.* to whoſe great diſpatch, though for ſome Days I cannot give a full Anſwer, I cannot but at this Opportunity reply to ſomething in thy Letter, not without relating to ſomething of his Diſcourſe.

As I confeſs it a Miſ-fortune (but deny it a Fault) thy not hearing oftner from me, ſo excuſe me to deny that it can be of ſo ill conſequence as thou mentions, if their Affections were ſo real, as they make ſhew of to thee; for the difficulty of ſending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will ſhew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great Wit to find out ways of ſending, wherefore if any be neglected more, then our Wits are faulty; but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any Fleſh living, that any body here ſhould hide from thee what is deſired that every one ſhould know (excuſe me to ſay it) is ſuch a folly, that I ſhall not believe that any can think it though he ſay it: And for my Affection to thee, it will not be the miſcarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in queſtion; but take heed that theſe Diſcourſes be not rather the effect of their wearineſs of thy Company, then the true Image of their Thoughts; and of this is not the propoſal of thy Journy to *Ireland*, a pretty Inſtance? For ſeriouſly of it ſelf, I hold it one of the moſt extravagant Propoſitions that I have heard, thy giving Ear to it, being moſt aſſuredly only to expreſs thy Love to me, and not

thy

thy Judgment in my Affairs: As for the Buſineſs it ſelf, (I mean the Peace of *Ireland*) to ſhew thee the Care I have had of it, and the Fruits I hope to receive from it, I have ſent thee the laſt Diſpatches I have ſent concerning it, earneſtly deſiring thee to keep them to thy ſelf; only thou may'ſt in general let the *Q. Regent* and Miniſters there underſtand, That I have offered my *Iriſh* Subjects ſo good Satisfaction, that a Peace will ſhortly enſue, which I really believe. But for God's ſake, let none know the particulars of my Diſpatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the *Portugal* Agent (and little to the *French*) it being by his means that I have ſent thee all my Letters, (beſides Expreſſes) ſince I came hither, though I expected moſt from *Sabran*.

" I will not trouble thee with repetitions of " News, *Digby*'s diſpatch which I have ſeen being " ſo full, that I can add nothing; yet I cannot but " paraphraſe a little upon that which he calls his " ſuperſtitious obſervation: It is this, nothing can " be more evident, then that *Strafford*'s innocent " Blood hath been one of the great cauſes of God's " juſt Judgments upon this Nation by a furious " civil War, both ſides hitherto being almoſt " equally puniſhed as being in a manner equally " guilty; but now this laſt crying Blood being to- " tally theirs, I believe it is no preſumption here- " after to hope that his Hand of Juſtice muſt be " heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking " now upon our Cauſe, having paſſed by our " Faults.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

To

XXIII.

Copy to the D. of R.

Richmond,

I Thank you for the Accompt you ſent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to *Weſt.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the ſecurity I ask with my coming to Weſt. And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this Bearer will tell you how well our Weſtern and Northern Aſſociations go on, to whom I refer you for other Things. I reſt.

This is a true Copy,

Zouch Tate.

XXIV.

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas *concerning the Treaty at* Uxbridge.

Oxford, Feb. 1644.

1. FOR Religion and Church-government I will not go one jot further then what is offered by you already.

2. And ſo for the *Militia* more than what ye have allowed by me, but even in that you muſt obſerve that I muſt have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; yet if they (I mean the Engliſh Rebels) will be ſo baſe as to admit of ten Scots to twenty Engliſh, I am contented to name five Scots and ten Engliſh, and ſo proportionably to any number that ſhall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular Perſons beſides Security, I give you Power to promiſe them Rewards for performed Services, not ſparing to engage for Places; ſo they be not of great Truſt, or be taken away from honeſt Men in poſſeſſion, but as much Profit as you will: With this laſt you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hyde*.

This is a true Copy,

Zouch Tate.

XXV.

Directions for my Uxbridge *Commiſſioners.*

First, *Concerning Religion.*

IN this the government of the Church (as I ſuppoſe) will be the chief Queſtion, wherein two Things are to be conſidered, Conſcience and Policy. For the firſt, I muſt declare unto you that I cannot yield to the change of the Government by Biſhops;

Biſhops; not only as I fully concur with the moſt general Opinion of Chriſtians in all Ages, as being the beſt, but likewiſe I hold my ſelf particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the Government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches Patrimony, I cannot ſuffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure Sacriledge, and likewiſe contrary to my Coronation-Oath; but whatſoever ſhall be offered, for rectifying of Abuſes if any have crept in, or yet for the eaſe of tender Conſciences (ſo that it endamage not the Foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious Anſwer thereunto. For the ſecond, as the King's Duty is to protect the Church, ſo it is the Churches to aſſiſt the King, in the maintenance of his juſt Authority; wherefore my Predeceſſors have been always careful (and eſpecially ſince the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown; without which it will ſcarcely ſit faſt upon the King's Head; therefore you muſt do nothing to change or leſſen this neceſſary dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

After Conſcience, this is certainly the fitteſt Subject for a King's Quarrel; for without it the Kingly Power is but a ſhadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known Laws of the Land: Yet becauſe to attain to this ſo much wiſhed Peace by all good Men, it is in a manner neceſſary that ſufficient and real Security be given for the performance of what ſhall be agreed upon. I permit you either by leaving ſtrong Towns or other Military Force in the Rebels poſſeſſion (until Arti-

cles be performed) to give ſuch aſſurance for performance of Conditions as you ſhall judge neceſſary for to conclude a Peace: Provided always that ye take (at leaſt) as great care by ſufficient Security, that Conditions be performed to me: *And to make ſure that the Peace once ſetled, all things ſhould return into their ancient Channels.*

Thirdly, *for* Ireland.

I confeſs, they have very ſpecious popular Arguments to preſs this Point, the gaining of no Article more conducing to their ends than this: And I have as much Reaſon both in Honour and Policy to take care how to anſwer this as any: All the World knows the eminent inevitable neceſſity which cauſed me to make the Iriſh Ceſſation, and there remains yet as ſtrong reaſon for the concluding of that Peace; wherefore ye muſt conſent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be ſhown me how my Proteſtant Subjects there may probably (at leaſt) defend themſelves; and that I ſhall have no more need to defend my Conſcience and Crown from the Injuries of this Rebellion.

A true Copy,

Zouch Tate.

At

XXVI.

At Uxbridge *on* Wednesday *the* 29*th of* January, 1644. *the Protestation under-written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesty's Commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded Peace.*

I *A. B.* being one of the Commissioners assigned by his Majesty for this present Treaty at *Uxbridge*, do Protest and Promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveal unto any Person or Persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any Matter or Thing that shall be spoken of during the Treaty by any one, or more of his Majesty's Commissioners in any private Debate among our selves, concerning the said Treaty; so as to name or describe directly or indirectly the Person or Persons that shall speak any such Matter or Thing, unless it be by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, That this shall not bind where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certifie his Majesty the number of Assenters or Dissenters, upon any particular result in this Treaty, not naming or describing the Persons.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Zouch Tate.

XXVII.

The Queen to the King from York, March 30, 1644. *Alſo* April.

My Dear Heart,

I Need not tell you from whence this Bearer comes; only I will tell you, That the Propoſitions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution: Therefore find ſome means to ſend them back, which may not diſcontent them, and do not tell who gave you this Advice. Sir *Hugh Cholmely* is come with a Troop of Horſe to kiſs my Hands: The reſt of his People he left at *Scarborough*, with a Ship laden with Arms, which the Ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, ſo ſhe is ours; the Rebels have quitted *Tadcaſter* upon our ſending Forces to *Whetherby*, but they are returned with twelve hundred Men: We ſend more Forces to drive them out, though thoſe we have already at *Whetherby* are ſufficient, but we fear leſt they have all their Forces thereabout, and leſt they have ſome Deſign; for they have quitted *Selby* and *Cawood*, the laſt of which they have burnt: Between this and to morrow-night we ſhall know the Iſſue of this Buſineſs; and I will ſend you an Expreſs. I am more careful to advertiſe you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have Paſs-ports to ſend; and I wonder that upon the Ceſſation you have not demanded that you might ſend in ſafety: This ſhews my Love. I underſtand to day from *London*, That they will have no Ceſſation, and that

they

they Treat at the beginning of the two firſt Articles, which is of the Forts, Ships and Ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the Army: Certainly, I wiſh a Peace more than any, and that with greater Reaſon; but I would the diſbanding of the perpetual Parliament, firſt; and certainly, the reſt will be eaſily afterwards. I do not ſay this of my own Head alone; for generally both thoſe who are for you and againſt you in this Country, wiſh an end of it; and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the firſt, in caſe it be not granted, *Hull* is ours, and all *Yorkſhire*, which is a thing to conſider of: And for my particular, if you make a Peace and disband your Army, before there is an end to this perpetual Parliament, I am abſolutely reſolved to go into *France*, not being willing to fall again into the Hands of thoſe People, being well aſſured, that if the Power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in *England*. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent Letters, and be more careful of me than you have been, or at the leaſt diſſemble it; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: The Man haſtens me, ſo that I can ſay no more.

York, *this* 30*th of* March.

XXVIII.

THIS Letter ſhould have gone by a Man of Maſter *Denedſdale*, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this Subject: And therefore by this Man it ſignifies nothing, but the end was ſo pleaſing, that I do not forbear to ſend it to you. You now know by *Elliot* the iſſue of the Buſineſs of *Todcaſter*, ſince we had almoſt loſt *Scarborough*, whilſt *Cholmely* was here, *Brownie Buſhell* would have rendred it up to the Parliament: But *Cholmely* having had notice of it, is gone with our Forces, and hath re-taken it: And hath deſired to have a Lieutenant and Forces of ours to put within it; for which we ſhould take his: He hath alſo taken two Pinaces from *Hotham*, which brought 44 Men to put within *Scarborough*, 10 Pieces of Canon, 4 Barrels of Powder, and 4 of Bullet. This is all our News; Our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfaxes* Excellency. And I will make an end of this Letter, this third of *April*. I have had no News of you ſince *Parſons*.

A true Copy,

P. W.

30 *March*, 3 *April*.

The

XXIX.

The Queen to the King from Bath. April 21. 1644.

My Dear Heart,

FRed. *Cornwallis* will have told you all our Voyage as far as *Adburie*, and the ſtate of my Health: Since my coming hither, I find my ſelf ſo ill, as well in the ill Reſt that I have, as in the encreaſe of my Rhume.

I hope that this days Reſt will do me good: I go to morrow to *Briſtol*, to ſend you back the Carts; many of them are already returned. My Lord *Dillon* told me, *not directly from you, tho' he ſays you approve it, That it was fit I ſhould write a Letter to the Commiſſioners of* Ireland *to this effect, That they ought to deſiſt from thoſe things for the preſent, which they had put in their Paper, and to aſſure them, that when you ſhall be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment.*

I thought it to be a matter of ſo great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command; therefore if it pleaſe you that I ſhould do ſo, ſend me what you would have me write, that I may not do more then what you appoint: And alſo that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promiſe: For I ſhould be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promiſed it me, I will be confident. I believe alſo, that to write to my Lord *Muskery* without the reſt will be enough; for the Letter which I ſhall write to him ſhall be with my own Hand: And

if

if it be to all your Commiſſioners, it ſhall be by the Secretary. Farewel my Dear Heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am abſolutely

Yours.

A true Copy,

Zouch Tate.

XXX.

The Queen to the King from Paris. *Jan.* 164⅘.

Paris, *January.*

I Have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marleborow* of an old date, having received many others more freſh, to which I have made anſwer: I will ſay nothing concerning this but only concerning the Affair of *(Gor.)* if it be not done, it is time, being very ſeaſonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I underſtand that the Commiſſioners are arrived at *London*; I have nothing to ſay, but that you have a care of your Honour; and that if you have a Peace, it may be ſuch as may hold; and if it fall out otherwiſe, *that you do not abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, for fear they do forſake you in your need.* Alſo I do not ſee how you can be in ſafety without a Regiment of Guard; for my ſelf I think I cannot be, *ſeeing the malice which they have againſt me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both*; but in my Opinion Religion ſhould be the laſt thing upon which you ſhould

ſhould treat: *For if you do agree upon ſtrictneſs againſt the Catholicks, it would diſcourage them to ſerve you: And if afterwards there ſhould be no Peace, you could never expect Succours either from* Ireland, *or any other Catholick Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have ſerved your ſelf.* I have diſpatched an Expreſs into *Scotland* to *Montroſſe*, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This Week I ſend to Mr. *de Lorrain* and into *Holland*; I loſe no time: If I had more of your News, all would go better. Adieu my Dear Heart.

A true Copy,

Zouch Tate.

My Wife, $\frac{16}{26}$ Decem. Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$.

XXXI.

The Queen to the King. Paris, *Jan.* 27, 164$\frac{4}{5}$. *Alſo* March 13.

Paris, *Jan.* $\frac{17}{27}$.

My Dear Heart,

TOm. *Eliot* two days ſince hath brought me much Joy and Sorrow: The firſt, to know the good eſtate in which you are; the other, the fear I have that you go to *London*. I cannot conceive where the Wit was of thoſe who gave you this Counſel, unleſs it be to hazard your Perſon to ſave theirs: But Thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambaſſador of *Portugal* dated in *January*,

January, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at *Uxbridge*: For the Honour of God trust not your self in the Hands of these People. And if you ever go to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. *I understand that the Propositions for the Peace must begin by disbanding the Army*; *if you consent to this, you shall be lost*, they having the whole power of the *Militia*, they have done and will do whatsoever they will. *I received yesterday Letters from the Duke of* Lorrain, *who sends me word if his Service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand Men.* Dr. *Goffe* whom I have sent into *Holland* shall Treat with him in his passage upon this Business; and I hope very speedily to send good News of this, as also of the Mony. Assure your self I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazard my Life, that is, to die by Famine, rather then not to send to you: Send me word always by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambassador of *Portugal* and the Resident of *France*. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholicks. Adieu; You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it yet my self in Cyphers. Shew to my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the Reason why I write not to him. I know not how to send great Packets.

A true Copy,

Zouch Tate.

My Wife, $\frac{23}{17}$ Jan. 166$\frac{4}{5}$.

Paris,

XXXII.

Paris, *this* 13*th of* March.

My Dear Heart,

SINCE my laſt, I have received one of your Letters marked 16. by which you ſignifie the receipt of my Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little ſurprized me, ſeeming to me that you write as if I had in my Letter ſomething which had diſpleaſed you: If that hath been, I am very innocent in my Intention. I only did believe that it was neceſſary you ſhould know all. There is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my ſelf your Diſpatches, as if you believe that I ſhould be capable to ſhew them to any only to Lord *Jermyn* to uncypher them, my Head not ſuffering me to do it my ſelf: But if it pleaſe you I will do it, and none in the World ſhall ſee them; be kind to me or you kill me. I have already Affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not do, but your Service ſurmounts all. Farewel my Dear Heart; behold the Mark which you deſire to have to know when I deſire any thing in earneſt ✠, and I pray begin to remember what I ſpake to you concerning *Jack Barkley* for Maſter of the Wards. I am not ingaged nor will not be for the Places of Lord *Percy* and others, do you accordingly.

13 *March* 1644.

Ne-

XXXIII.

Newark *the* 27 *of* June.

My Dear Heart,

I Received juſt now your Letter by my Lord *Savile*, who found me ready to go away, ſtaying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two Days ſtop, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*. Young *Hotham* having been put in Priſon by order of Parliament, is eſcaped, and hath ſent to 260 that he would caſt himſelf into his Arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* ſhould be rendred, he is gone to his Father, and 260. writes for your Anſwer, ſo that I think I ſhall go hence *Friday* or *Saturday*, and ſhall go lie at *Werton*, and from thence to *Aſhby*, where we will reſolve what way to take, and I will ſtay there a day, becauſe that the March of the Day before, will have been ſomewhat great, and alſo to know how the Enemy marches; all their Forces of *Nottingham* at preſent are gone to *Leiceſter* and *Darby*, which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our paſſage; aſſoon as we have reſolved, I will ſend you word. At this preſent I think it fit to let you know the ſtate in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the ſafety of *Lincolnſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*. I leave 2000 Foot, and wherewithal to arm 500 more, 20 Companies of Horſe, all this to be under *Charles Cavendiſh*, whom the Gentlemen of the Country have deſired me not to carry with me againſt his Will, for he deſired extreamly to go. The Enemies have left within *Nottingham* 1000. I carry with me 3000 Foot, 30 Companies of Horſe and Dragoons, 6 Pieces of Cannon, and 2 Mortars. *Harry Jermyn* commands the

the Forces which go with me, as Colonel of my Guard, and Sir *Alexander Leſley* the Foot under him, and *Gerard* the Horſe, and *Robin Legg* the Artillery, and her She-Majeſty Generaliſſima, and extreamly diligent, with a 150 Wagons of Baggage to govern, in caſe of Battel. Have a care that no Troop of *Eſſex* his Army incommodate us, for I hope that for the reſt we ſhall be ſtrong enough, for at *Nottingham* we have had the experience, one of our Troops having beaten ſix of theirs and made them fly. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wiſh had not been made, being extreamly diſadvantagious for you; for you ſhew too much fear, and do not what you had reſolved upon. Farewel my Dear Heart.

The Queen to the King, 27 June, 1643.

XXXIV.

Inſtructions to ———, *ſent to the Court of* France *the* 12*th of* July, 1626.

CHARLES Rex.

IT is not unknown both to the French King and his Mother, what Unkindneſſes and Diſtaſtes have fallen between my Wife and Me, which hitherto I have born with great Patience (as all the World knows) ever expecting and hoping an amendment, knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty Counſels of her Servants,

vants, for advancing of their own ends, rather then her own Inclination: For at my first meeting of her at *Dover*, I could not expect more Testimonies of Respect and Love, then she shewed; as to give one instance, her first Suit to me was, That she being young and coming to a strange Country, both by her Years and Ignorance of the Customs of the Place, might commit many Errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her Faults of Ignorance, before I had with my Instructions learned her to eschew them, and desired me in these Cases to use no third Person, but to tell her my self when I found she did any thing amiss. I both granted her Request, and thanked her for it, but desired that she would use me as she had desired me to use her, which she willingly promised me, which Promise she never kept. For a little after this, Madam *St. George* taking a Distast because I would not let her ride with us in the Coach, when there was Women of better Quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in *England* we think a strange thing) set my Wife in such an Humor of Distaste against me, as that from that very hour to this, no Man can say that ever she used me two Days together with so much respect as I deserved of her; but by the contrary, has put so many Disrespects on me, as it were too long to set down all; some I will relate. As I take it, it was at her first coming to *Hampton Court*, I sent some of my Council to her, with those Orders that were kept in the Queen my Mothers House, desiring she would command the Count of *Tilliers*, that the same might be kept in hers: Her Answer was, she hoped that I would give her leave to order her House as she list her self. Now if she had said that she would speak with me, not doubting to give me Satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her,

her, whatſoever ſhe would have ſaid of this to my ſelf, for I could only impute it to Ignorance; but I could not imagine that ſhe ſhould affront me ſo, as to refuſe me in ſuch a thing publickly.) After I heard this Anſwer, I took a time (when I thought we had both beſt Leiſure to diſpute it) to tell her calmly both her fault in the publick denial, and her miſtaking of the Buſineſs it ſelf. She, inſtead of acknowledging her Fault and Miſtaking, gave me ſo ill an Anſwer that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of that Diſcourſe having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little Neglects I will not take the Pains to ſet down, as her eſchewing to be in my Company. When I have any thing to ſpeak to her, I muſt manage her Servants firſt, elſe I am ſure to be denied; her neglect of the Engliſh Tongue, and of the Nation in general. I will alſo omit the Affront ſhe did me, before my going to this laſt unhappy Aſſembly of Parliament, becauſe there has been Talk enough of that already, *&c.* The Author of it is before you in *France*. To be ſhort, omitting all other Paſſages, coming only to that which is moſt recent in Memory; I having made a Commiſſion to make my Wifes Jointure, *&c.* to aſſign her thoſe Lands ſhe is to live on, and it being brought to ſuch a ripeneſs that it wanted but my conſent to the Particulars they had choſen; ſhe taking notice that it was now time to name the Officers for her Revenue, one night when I was a Bed, put a Paper in my Hand, telling me it was a Liſt of thoſe that ſhe deſired to be of her Revenue. I took it, and ſaid I would read it next Morning; but withal told her, that by agreement in *France* I had the naming of them. She ſaid, there were both Engliſh and French in the Note. I replied, That thoſe Engliſh I thought fit to ſerve her I would confirm; but

for the French, it was impoſſible for them to ſerve her in that nature. Then ſhe ſaid, all thoſe in the Paper had Breviats from her Mother, and her Self, and that ſhe could admit no other. Then I ſaid it was neither in her Mothers Power, nor Hers, to admit any without my leave, and that if ſhe ſtood upon that, whomſoever ſhe recommended, ſhould not come in. Then ſhe bad me plainly take my Lands to my ſelf, for if ſhe had no Power to put in whom ſhe would in thoſe Places, ſhe would have neither Lands nor Houſe of me, but bad me give her what I thought fit in Penſion. I bad her then remember to whom ſhe ſpake, and told her, That ſhe ought not to uſe me ſo. Then ſhe fell into a paſſionate Diſcourſe, how ſhe is miſerable, in having no Power to place Servants, and that Buſineſſes ſucceeded the worſe for her Recommendation; which when I offered to anſwer, ſhe would not ſo much as hear me. Then ſhe went on, ſaying, ſhe was not of that baſe Quality to be uſed ſo ill. Then I made her both hear me and end that Diſcourſe. Thus having had ſo long patience, with the diſturbance of that that ſhould be one of my greateſt Contentments, I can no longer ſuffer thoſe that I know to be the Cauſe and Fomenters of theſe Humors, to be about my Wife any longer, which I muſt do if it were but for one Action they made my Wife do, which is, to make her go to *Tyburn* in Devotion to pray, which Action can have no greater Invective made againſt it, than the relation. Therefore you ſhall tell my Brother the French King, as likewiſe his Mother, that this being an Action of ſo much neceſſity, I doubt not but he will be ſatisfied with it, eſpecially ſince he hath done the like himſelf, not ſtaying while he had ſo much Reaſon: And being an Action that ſome may interpret of harſhneſs to his Nation, I thought good

good to give him an Account of it, becauſe that in all Things I would preſerve the good Correſpondency and Brotherly Affection that is between us.

A true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

XXXV.

Oxford, Jan. 164$\frac{3}{4}$.

Dear Heart,

I Receive it as a good Augure thus to begin this new Year, having newly receiv'd thine of the 30 *Decemb.* which I cannot ſtay to Decipher, for not loſing this opportunity, it likewiſe being a juſt excuſe for this ſhort Accompt. This day I have diſpatched *Dighies* Secretary, fully relating the State of our Affairs, therefore I ſhall only now tell thee, That the Rebels are ingaged into an equal Treaty without any of thoſe Diſadvantages which might have been apprehended when *Tom. Elliot* went hence, and that the Diſtractions of *London* were never ſo great, or ſo likely to bring good effect as now. Laſtly, That Aſſiſtance was never more needful, never ſo likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, 1 Jan. 1644. *by* P. A.

This is a true Copy examined by

Miles Corbet.

XXXVI.

Oxford, Thurſday 24 April.

Harry,

LEST my Wife ſhould not yet be fit for any Buſineſs, I write this to you; not to excuſe my Pains but eaſe hers; and that ſhe may know but not be troubled with my Kindneſs. I refer to your Diſcretion, how far to impart my Letter to her or any other Buſineſs, that ſo her Health in the firſt place be cared for, then my Affairs. And now I muſt tell you that undoubtedly if you had not truſted to *Digby*'s ſanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from ſending good News) you would not have found fault with him for ſending miſtaken Intelligence, for if he ſhould ſtrictly tie himſelf to certain Truths in this kind, you muſt have nothing from him but by Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houſes. But tell me, can you not diſtinguiſh between what we ſend you upon certainty and what upon uncertain Reports, without making an Oath the Mark of diſtinction? And are you obliged to publiſh all the News we ſend you? Seriouſly I think News may be ſometimes too good to be told in the French Court. And certainly there is as much dexterity in publiſhing of News, as in Matters which at firſt ſight, may ſeem of greater difficulty: For as I would not have them think that all Aſſiſtance beſtowed upon me were in vain, ſo I would not have them believe that I needed no help, leſt they ſhould underhand aſſiſt any Rebels to keep the ballance of Diſſention among us equal.

For

For Matter of News and present State of my Affairs I refer you to *Digby*; only this in general, that if it shall please God to assist us this Year but half so miraculously as he did the last (my present State compared with what it was this time Twelvemonth) I am very hopeful to see a joyful Harvest before next Winter: Nor do I think this in any human probability possible, except my Wife can procure me considerable Assistance both of Men and Mony; of which I conceive little Reason to despair, your last giving me good hope concerning *Lorrain:* And tho' I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an Author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my Confidence, when 149. in hers the 10th of *March*, says, *J'ay une Affaire assure qui vous donnera* 40000 *Pistoles, que Je vous eusse envoye si J'eusse eu mon navire revenu avec l'estain.*

In the last place I will impose that upon you that is not reasonable to expect from my Wife, which is to give me a continual Accompt what Letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly; to which end take notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this is with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you: So farewel.

In your next let me know particularly how my Wife is, which tho' it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is, if well, then every Word will please me. I have commanded *Digby* to write to you freely concerning *Will. Murry*, which I hold to be necessary as concerning *Montrosses* Business.

To the Lord Jermyn, 24 Apr. 1645. *concerning* France.

This a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XXXVII.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last by *Choquen* I have had no means of Writing, and as little new Matter: That which is now, is the progress of the Treaty, of which these enclosed Papers will give thee a full Accompt: But if thou have them sooner from *London* than me, thou hast no Reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other: For the Business it self, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of Treaters; and for my Propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in Words) from those which were last: Wherefore I need to say nothing of them, and for my Instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them. Now upon the whole Matter I desire thee to shew the Queen and Ministers there, the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a Peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of Grounds that are betwixt the Rebels Propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by Force, which a little Assistance, by thy means, will soon make them; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a Defensive (which a reasonable Sum of Mony would do) they would be easily brought to Reason. Concerning our *interferings here at Oxford*, I desire thee to suspend thy Judgment (for I believe few but partial Relations will come to thee) until I shall send some whom I may trust by Word of Mouth;

Mouth; it being too much Trouble to us both to ſet them down in Paper.

Copy to my Wife 22 Jan. 1644.

This is a true Copy examined by

Miles Corbett.

XXXVIII.

Dear Heart,

I Never till now knew the Good of Ignorance, for I did not know the Danger that thou wert in by the Storm, before I had certain aſſurance of thy happy eſcape; we having had a pleaſing falſe Report, of thy ſafe landing at *Newcaſtle*, which thine of the 19 *Jan.* ſo confirmed us in, that we at leaſt were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a Danger thou haſt paſt, of which I ſhall not be out of apprehenſion, until I may have the happineſs of thy Company, for indeed I think it not the leaſt of my Misfortunes, that for my ſake thou haſt run ſo much hazard; in which thou haſt expreſſed ſo much Love to me that I confeſs it is impoſſible to repay, by any thing I can do, much leſs by Words; but my Heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient paſſion of Gratitude to thee, I could not but ſay ſomething, leaving the reſt to be read by thee out of thine own Noble Heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 *Feb.* has bred

great Diſcourſe in ſeveral Perſons, and of ſeveral Kinds, as my ſaying I was perſecuted for Places, is applied to all and not only thoſe that I there name to be Sutors; whereas the Truth is I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time enough to name as well as ſome there mentioned; for I confeſs 174. and 133. are not guilty of that Fault. Some find Fault as too much Kindneſs to thee (thou may eaſily vote from what Conſtellation that comes) but I aſſure ſuch that I want Expreſſion, not Will, to do it ten times more to thee on all Occaſions. Others preſs me as being brought upon the Stage; but I anſwer that having profeſt to have thy Advice, it were a Wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our Treaty (leaving the Particulars to this incloſed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it as concerning my part in it, for all the Soldiers are well pleaſed with what I have done; but expect no Ceſſation of Arms, for the Lower Houſe will have none without a Disbanding, and I will not Disband till all be agreed. Laſtly for our Military Affairs, I thank God that here and in the Weſt they proſper well. As for the North I refer thee to 226. 140. Information. So daily expecting and praying for good News from thee, *&c.*

Copy to my Wife, 13 Feb. 1643.

Oxford, 13 *Feb.* 1643.

A true Copy,

Zouche Tate.

In-

XXXIX.

Inſtructions to Colonel Cockran *to be purſued in his Negotiation to the King of* Denmark.

YOU are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that by his Majeſty's Command, as to the neareſt Ally of his Crown, his Uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in his Affairs, as well in Intereſt as Affection, you are ſent to give a particular Accompt of the State of his Majeſty's Affairs; to renew the ancient League and Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms and Families Royal, and to reduce it to more exact Particulars, ſuch as might be uſeful to the preſent Affairs of *England*, and all Occurrences in the future of thoſe of *Denmark*.

That the preſent Affair of your Negotiation, is to demand an Aſſiſtance from his Majeſty, ſuch a one as the preſent State of the Affairs of *England* requires, againſt a dangerous Combination of his Majeſty's Subjects, who have not only invaded his Majeſty in his particular Rights, but have laid a Deſign to diſſolve the Monarchy and Frame of Government, under pretences of Liberty and Religion, becoming a dangerous Precedent to all the Monarchies of Chriſtendom, if attended with ſucceſs in their Deſign.

That the nature of their Proceedings hath been ſuch as hath not admitted any Foreign Treaty to be intereſſed in ſuppreſſing their Deſign, without giving them advantage of ſcandaling his Majeſty's Intentions, and drawing away univerſally the Hearts of his People, whom they had inſinuated under

under pretence of Reformation of particular Abuſes of Government, and Miniſters of Eſtate, to concur generally with approbation of their Proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous Conſequence and Deſign were viſible to his Majeſty) a preſent compliance was neceſſary, leſt any publick oppoſition on his Majeſty's part, that might ſeem to defeat the great Expectations which they had raiſed in the Commons in thoſe plauſible Particulars, might have occaſioned a general Revolt throughout the Kingdoms, great Jealouſies being diſperſed and fomented among them of his Majeſty's Foreign Treaties, and Force to be uſed to oppoſe and ſuppreſs thoſe their Deſires and the Movers therein.

Upon the Credit they had herewith built on the Peoples Opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to diſſolve the Government of the Church, according to its Conſtitution in *England*, a chief Column and Support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They laſtly invaded his Majeſty in all the Prerogatives of his Crown, and under pretence of ill Miniſters and Counſellors of Eſtate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to inveſt in themſelves in all times for the future the Domination of all Miniſtries of Eſtate, and of his Majeſty's Family; withdrew all his Revenues into their own Hands, and to confirm themſelves in an abſolute Power of diſpoſing his Eſtate, entred upon poſſeſſing themſelves of the Militia of the Kingdom, his Navy and Magazins; in which his Majeſty being forced to appear in oppoſition, dangerous Tumults were raiſed againſt him, ſo that he was forced to forſake *London*, for preſervation of his Perſon, his Queen and Children.

That

That ſince for the Safety of the Queen he hath been forced to ſend her into *Holland*, and to retire himſelf to the beſt affected Party of his Subjects, from whence by Declarations ſetting forth the ſiniſter Proceedings of that Faction, diſcovering their Deſigns of innovating the Government, and falſifying the Scandals they had imputed to him, he hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his People, to draw to him univerſally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction ſtill keeping up ſome Intereſt and Credit with the Commons, in the deſperate Eſtate they find themſelves begin to make Head againſt him, have appointed a General, and are levying Forces to maintain their Party, committing divers Acts of Hoſtility, Violence and Rebellion.

That his Majeſty having great Encouragements given him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that reſort to him, is already advanced near them with 6000 Horſe, and 10000 Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condeſcended to give her Majeſty the Queen a Convoy of the greateſt part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her return into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties upon his Majeſty's perſonal appearance, have declared for him, ſo that his Affairs at home grow daily into a better Eſtate, as he likewiſe expects and hopes, that all his Neighbour Princes and Allies, will not look upon ſo dangerous a Precedent to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to ſuppreſs this ſo pernicious a Deſign begun within his Kingdom.

That to give his (*Daniſh*) Majeſty the juſter Ground to reflect upon the dangerous Conſequences, in relation to his own Intereſt, of their Succeſs, it hath

hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons Houſe long ſince, to interpoſe in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to ſet out a Fleet to take away his Cuſtoms of the *Sound*.

That they have ſince imputed to his Majeſty as a Ground to ſcandal him with his People, That he did Negotiate the introducing by his Uncle the King of *Denmark* a Foreign Power to ſettle his Affairs, and under that pretext have given a large Commiſſion and particular Inſtructions to the Fleet, to viſit, ſearch, and intercept all ſuch *Daniſh* Ships, as they ſhould meet, and to Fight with, ſink or deſtroy, all ſuch as ſhould reſiſt them, not permitting the ſame, or to take and detain them, having any Arms or Ammunition on board; according to which they have ſearched, viſited, and detained divers, to the great Prejudice and Interruption of the *Norway* Trade driven commonly in this Kingdom in their own Bottoms; And that they did prepare Force againſt others, whom they permitted not to Water, nor any other Accommodation, being bound for the *Weſt-Indies*, and put in by ſtreſs of Weather in the Weſt of *England*.

That in purſuance of their great Deſign of extirpating the Royal Blood and Monarchy of *England*, they have endeavoured likewiſe to lay a great Blemiſh upon his Royal Family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his Siſter, at once to cut off the Intereſt and Pretentions of the whole Race; which their moſt deteſtable and ſcandalous Deſign they have purſued, examining Witneſſes, and conferring Circumſtances and Times to colour their Pretenſions in ſo great a Fault; and which, as his Sacred Majeſty of *England* in the true Senſe of Honour of his Mother doth abhor, and will puniſh; ſo he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Siſter of ſo happy Memory, and by whom ſo near an Union,

Union, and continued League of Amity, hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the Particulars in which his Majesty doth desire his Assistance, are, in the loan and raising of Men, Mony, Arms and Ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own Affairs: And of such in the first place as may be most requisite and wanting to his Majesty.

That to set his Levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his Subjects in all Places that adhere to him, and receive their Contribution, 100000 *l.* will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of Loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly Word and solemn Engagement upon this Treaty, he is contented, of such his Crown-Jewels as are in his disposure, to leave his Royal Pledge, if it shall be desired.

The Particulars of Arms that he desires, are 6000 Musquets, 1500 Horse-arms, and 20 pieces of Field-Artillery mounted.

Assistance of Men, he desires only in Horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the *Holy Island*, or *New-Castle*, are designed for the landing of the said Horse, and Magazin of the said Provisions; for reception likewise, and protection of such his Ships as he shall think fit to employ for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall Trade upon these Coasts, and for ascertaining the Correspondence and Intelligence between the two Kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best sort and agree with his own Affairs. And for which the *Holy Island* is conceived one of the apteſt Harbours in his Majesty's Dominions, being capable of any

Ships

Ships whatſoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent Road at the entrance, a ready Out-let, and a ſtrong Fort under his Majeſty's Command.

That in Lieu of this Aſſiſtance contributed by the King of *Denmark*, his Majeſty will oblige himſelf, and ratifie in expreſs Articles, to reſtore into the Magazines of *Denmark*, a like proportion of Arms and Ammunition, to repay and defray the Charges of the Mony lent, and Levies of Horſe, and ſo ſoon as his Affairs ſhall be ſettled, and himſelf in a condition to do it, upon all Occaſions, to contribute the aſſiſtance of his Fleet, in maintaining his Right and Title to the Cuſtoms of the *Sound* againſt all Perſons whatſoever; to ratifie the Treaty that was made laſt by Sir *Thomas Roe*, and to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt inteſtine Rebellions. In purſuance of which Treaty, while the Negotiations and Articles may be ſeverally perfected, his Majeſty doth expect this firſt Supply of Monies and Arms, preſent Affairs not admitting a delay in the ſame.

That in caſe the King of *Denmark* will lend Mony upon Jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be ſent to him or deliver'd to his Agent there: Who may have order to pay the Mony here: Or any other Jewels.

That there have been in Diſcourſes ſeveral Propoſitions of Accommodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reaſon could have been expected from him, and the Difficulties have ſtill riſen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majeſty doth underſtand, that a Perſon is addreſſed to the King of *Denmark* from his Parliament, to inſinuate Miſunderſtandings

ings abroad with his Majeſty's Allies, as they have done at home among his People, his Majeſty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations between their Majeſties, but that he be diſmiſt and ſent away ſo ſoon as ever he ſhall arrive.

KIng *Charles* I. in a printed Declaration dated from *Newark*, *March* 9, 1641. ſays to the Parliament, "*Whatſoever you are adverti ſed from* "Rome, Venice, Paris, *of the Pope's Nuncio ſollici-* "*ting* France, Spain, *&c. for Foreign Aids, We are* "*confident no ſober honeſt Man in our Kingdom can* "*believe that we are ſo deſperate or ſo ſenſeleſs to en-* "*tertain ſuch Deſigns, as would not only bury this Our* "*Kingdom in certain Deſtruction and Ruin, but our* "*Name and Poſterity in perpetual Scorn and In-* "*famy.*

If this Paſſage be compared with the preceding Letters and Inſtructions, all equitable Men may judge whether the King did not paſs Sentence againſt himſelf, and abſolve the High Court of Juſtice.

An-

An Order ſent to the King's Printer, with the Proclamation againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels.

IT is his Majeſty's Pleaſure that you forthwith print in very good Paper, and ſend unto me for his Majeſty's Service forty Copies of the Proclamation incloſed, leaving convenient ſpace for his Majeſty to ſign above, and to affix the Privy Signet underneath: And his Majeſty's Command is, That you print not above the ſaid number of forty Copies, and forbear to make any further publication of them, 'till his Pleaſure be further ſignified; for which this ſhall be your Warrant.

Whitehall, 2 *Jan.* 1641. Edward Nicholas.

For his Majeſty's Printer.

Propoſitions delivered to his Majeſty by the Earl of Strafford, *for ſecuring of his Majeſty's Eſtate and bridling of Parliaments, and for increaſe of his Revenue much more than it is.*

TOuching the firſt, having conſidered divers Means, I find none ſo important to ſtrengthen your Majeſty's Regal Authorities againſt all oppoſitions or practices of troubleſome Spirits, as to fortify your Kingdom, by having a Fortreſs in every Chief

Chief Town and Important Place thereof furniſhed with Ordnance, Munition and faithful Men, as they ought to be, with all other Circumſtances fit to be digeſted in a Buſineſs of this nature.

Ordering withal, the Trained Soldiers of the Country to be united in one Dependency with the ſaid Forts, as well to ſecure their beginnings, as to ſecure them in any occaſion of ſuſpect, and keep their Arms for more Security, whereby the Countries are no leſs to be brought into ſubjection than the Cities themſelves, and conſequently the whole Kingdom; your Majeſty having, by this Courſe, the Power thereof in your own Hands.

The Reaſons of theſe Suggeſtions.

Firſt, That in Policy, it is a greater Tie of the People by Force and Neceſſity, than meerly by Love and Affection; for by the one the Government reſteth always ſecure; but by the other, no longer than the People are well contented.

Secondly, It forceth obſtinate Subjects to be no more preſumptuous than it pleaſeth your Majeſty to permit them.

Thirdly, That to have a State unfurniſhed is to give the Bridle thereof to the Subject, when by the contrary it reſteth only in the Prince's Hand.

Fourthly, That modern Fortreſſes take long time in winning, with ſuch Charge and Difficulty as no Subjects in theſe times have means probable to attempt them.

Fifthly, That it is a ſure Remedy againſt Rebellious and Popular Mutinies or againſt Foreign Powers, becauſe they cannot well ſucceed, when by this Courſe the apparent Means is taken away to force the King and State upon a doubtful For-

tune of a ſet Battle, as was the Cauſe that moved the pretended Invaſion againſt the Land attempted by the King of *Spain*, 1588.

Sixthly, That your Majeſty's Government is now ſecured by the People's more Subjection, and by their Subjection your Parliament muſt be forced conſequently to alter their Stile, and to be conformable to your Will and Pleaſure, for their Words and Oppoſition importeth nothing, where the Power is in your Majeſty's own Hands to do with them what you pleaſe; being indeed the chief purpoſe of this Diſcourſe, and the ſecret intent thereof fit to be conceal'd from any Engliſh at all, either Counſellor of State or others.

For theſe and other weighty Reaſons it may be conſider'd in this Place to make your Majeſty more powerful and ſtrong, ſome Orders be obſerved, that are uſed in fortify'd Countries, the Government thereof importeth as much as the States themſelves, I mean in times of Doubt and Suſpect, which are theſe.

Imprimis, That none wear Arms or Weapons at all, either in City or Country, but ſuch as your Majeſty may think fit to priviledge, and they to be enrolled.

Secondly, That as many High-ways, as conveniently may be done, may be made paſſable through thoſe Cities and Towns fortify'd, to conſtrain the Paſſengers to travel through them.

Thirdly, That Soldiers of Fortreſſes are ſometimes choſen of another Nation if Subjects to the ſame Prince, but howſoever not to be born in the ſame Province, or within forty Miles of the Fortreſs, and not to have Friends or Correſpondency near it.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That at the Gates of ſuch Walled Towns be appointed Officers, not to ſuffer any unknown Paſſenger to paſs without a Ticket ſhewing from whence he came, and whither he goeth: And that the Gates of each City be ſhut at night, and the Keys be kept by the Mayor or Governor: Alſo that the Inn-keepers do deliver the Names of all unknown Paſſengers that lodge in their Houſes, and if they ſtay ſuſpiciouſly at any time, to preſent them to the Governour: Whereby dangerous Perſons ſeeing theſe ſtrict Courſes will be more wary of their Actions, and thereby miſchievous Attempts will be prevented. All which being referred to your Majeſty's wiſe Conſideration, it is meet for me withal to give you ſome Satisfaction of the Charge and Time to perform what is propoſed, that you may not be diſcouraged in the difficulty of the one or prolongation of the other; both which Doubts are reſolved in one and the ſame Reaſon, in reſpect that in *England* each chief Town commonly hath a ruinated Caſtle well ſeated for Strength, whoſe Foundation and Stones remaining may be both quickly repair'd for this uſe, and with little Charge, and made ſtrong enough, I hope, for this purpoſe in the ſpace of one Year, by adding withal Bulwarks and Rampiers, according to the Rules of Fortification.

The Ordnance for theſe Forts may be of Iron, and not to diſfurniſh your Majeſty's Navy, or be at a greater Charge than is needful to maintain yearly the Forts.

I make account in ordinary Pay three thouſand Men will be ſufficient, and will require forty thouſand Pounds Charge *per Annum* or thereabouts, being an Expence that inferior Princes undergo for their neceſſary Safety: All which Prevention added

ded to the invincible Sea-Forces your Majeſty hath already, and may have, will make you the moſt powerful and obeyed Prince of the World, which I could likewiſe confirm by many Examples, but I omit them for Brevity, and not to confuſe your Majeſty with too much Matter. Your Gracious Majeſty may find by the Scope of this Diſcourſe the Means ſhewed in general to bridle your Subjects, that may either be diſcontented, or obſtinate. So likewiſe am I to conclude the ſame Intent particularly againſt the Perverſneſs of your Parliament, as well to ſuppreſs that pernicious Humour, as to avoid their Oppoſitions againſt your Profit, being the Second Part to be diſcourſed on.

And therefore have firſt thought fit, for better prevention thereof, to make known to your Majeſty the purpoſe of a General Oath your Subjects may take, for ſure avoiding of all Rubs that may hinder the Concluſion of thoſe Buſineſſes.

It is further meant, That no Subject upon Pain of High-Treaſon may refuſe the ſame Oath, containing only Matter of Allegiance and not Scruples or Points of Conſcience, that may gain pretence to be denied.

The Effect of the Oath is this.

THAT all your Majeſty's Subjects do acknowledge you to be *abſolute King and Monarch* within your Dominions, as is among the Chriſtian Princes, and your Prerogative as great, whereby you may and ſhall of your ſelf by your Majeſty's Proclamation, as well as any other Sovereign Princes doing the like, make Laws or reverſe any made, with any other Act ſo great a Mo-

Monarch as your ſelf may do, and that without further Conſent of Parliaments, or need to call them at all, in ſuch Caſes confirming that the Parliament in all Matters (excepting Cauſes to be ſentenced as the High Court) ought to be ſubject unto your Majeſty's Will to give the Negative or Affirmative Concluſion, and not to be conſtrained by their Impertinencies to any Inconvenience, appertaining to your Majeſty's Royal Authority, and this notwithſtanding any bad Pretence or Cuſtom to the contrary in Practice, which (indeed) were fitter to be offered a Prince Elected without any other Right, than to your Majeſty born ſucceſſively King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and your Heirs for ever; and ſo reſumed, not only of your Subjects, but alſo of the whole World. How neceſſary the dangerous Supremacy of Parliament-Uſurpation is to be prevented, the Example of *Lewis* XI. King of *France* doth manifeſt; who found the like oppoſition as your Majeſty doth, and by his Wiſdom ſuppreſs'd it, and that to the purpoſe here intended, which is not to put down altogether Parliaments, and their Authority, being in many Caſes very neceſſary and fit, but to abridge them ſo far as they ſeek to derogate from your Majeſty's Royal Authority or advancement of your Greatneſs.

The Caution in offering the aforeſaid Oath may require ſome Policy, for the eaſier Paſſage of it at firſt, either by ſingular or particular Tractation, and that ſo near at one time over the Land, as one Government may not know what the other intendeth, ſo it may paſs the eaſier by having no time of Combination or Oppoſition.

There is another Means alſo more certain than this to bring to paſs this Oath more eaſily : As alſo your Profit, and what is pretended, which here I omit for Brevity, requiring a long Diſcourſe by it ſelf, and have ſet it down in particular Inſtructions to inform your Majeſty.

The Second Part of this Diſcourſe is touching your Majeſty's Profit, after your State is ſecured; wherein I ſhall obſerve both ſome reaſonable Content to the People, as alſo conſider the great Expences that Princes have now a-days more than in times paſt to maintain their Greatneſs and Safety of their Subjects, who if they have not Wit or Will to conſider their own Intereſt, ſo much your Majeſty's Wiſdom muſt repair their Defects, and force them by Compulſion. But I hope there ſhall be no ſuch Cauſe in Points ſo reaſonable.

To increaſe your Majeſty's Revenue I ſet down divers Means for your Gracious Self to make choice of either all or part at your pleaſure, and to put it in execution by ſuch Degrees and Conditions as your great Wiſdom ſhall think fit in a Buſineſs of this nature.

Imprimis, The firſt Courſe or Means intended to increaſe your Majeſty's Revenues or Profit withal, is of greateſt Conſequence: And I ſhall call it a *Decima*, being ſo termed in *Italy* where in ſome Parts it is in uſe, importing the tenth part of all Subjects Eſtates to be paid as a Yearly Rent to the Prince, and as well Monied-men in Towns, as Landed-men in the Countries, their Value and Eſtates eſteemed juſtly as it is to the true Value, (tho' with Reaſon) and this paid yearly in Mony; which Courſe apply'd in *England* for your Majeſty's

Majesty's Service may serve instead of Subsidies, Fifteens and such like, which in this Case are fit to be releas'd for the Subjects Benefit and Content, in recompence of the said *Decima*, which will yield your Majesty more in Certainty, than they do casually by Five hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*, at the least.

Item, That when your Majesty hath gotten Mony into your Hands by some Courses to be set down, it would be a profitable Course to increase your *Intrato*, to buy out all Estates and Leases upon your own Lands in such sort that they be made no Losers; whereby, having your Lands free, and Renting them out to the true Value as it is most in use, and not employed as heretofore at an old Rent and small Fines, you may Rent it out for at least four or five times more Mony than the old Rent comes to; so that if your Majesty's Lands be already but Threescore thousand Pounds *per Annum*, by this Course it will be augmented at least Two hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and to buy out the Tenants Estates will come to a small Matter by the Course, to make them no Losers, considering the Gains they have already made upon the Lands; and this is the rather to be done and the present Course changed, because it hath been a Custom meerly to couzen the King.

Item, Whereas most Princes do receive the Benefit of Salt in their own Hands as a Matter of great Profit, because they receive it at the lowest Price possible, and vent it with double Gains yearly; the same Course used by your Majesty were worth an hundred and fifty thousand Pounds at least. It is likewise in other Parts, that all Weights and Measures of the Land, either in private Houses, Shops or publick Markets, should be viewed to be just, and sealed once a Year, paying to the Prince for it;

which in *England* apply'd to your Majeſty, with order to pay Six Pence for the Sealing of each ſaid Weight or Meaſure, would yield near Threeſcore thouſand Pounds *per Annum*.

Item, That all Countries pay a *Gabella* for Tranſportation of Cloth, and ſo likewiſe in *England*; yet in *Spain* there is an Impoſt upon the Woolls, which is ſo great a Beneſit and Wealth to the Sheep-Maſters, as they may well pay you 5 *l. per Cent.* of the true value of their Shearing, which I conceive may be worth 15000 *l. per Annum*.

Item, Whereas the Lawyers Fees and Gains in *England* be exceſſive to your Majeſty's Subjects Prejudice, it were to your Majeſty to make uſe thereof, and to impoſe on all Cauſes ſentenced with the Party to pay 5 *l. per Cent.* of the true Value that the Cauſe had gained him; and for a Recompence thereof to limit all Lawyers Fees and Gettings, whereby the Subject ſhall ſave more in Fees and Charges than he giveth in the *Gabella*, which I believe may be worth one Year with another Fifty thouſand Pounds.

Item, Whereas the Inns and Victualling-houſes in *England* are more chargeable to Travellers than in other Countries, it were good for your Majeſty to limit them to certain Ordinaries, and raiſe beſides a large Impoſition, as it is uſed in *Tuſcany* and other Parts; That is, prohibiting all Inns and Victualling-houſes, but ſuch as ſhall pay it; and to impoſe upon the chief Inns and Taverns to pay ten Pounds a Year to your Majeſty, and the worſt five Pounds *per Annum*; and all the Ale-houſes twenty Shillings *per Annum*, more or leſs as they are in Cuſtom of all ſorts: There are ſo many in *England* that this Impoſt will yield 100000 *l. per Annum* to your Majeſty

Item,

Item, In *Tuſcany* and other Parts there is a *Gabella* of all Cattle or Fleſh, or Horſes ſold in the Market paying three or four Pound *per Cent.* for what they are ſold for, which by Conjecture may be worth in *England* 20000 *l. per Annum*; uſing the like Cuſtom upon Fiſh and other Victuals (Bread excepted). And for this cauſe all Fleſh and Fiſh and Victuals to be praiſed and ſold by weight, whereby the Subject ſaveth more in not being couzened, than the Impoſition importeth them.

Item, In *Tuſcany* is uſed a Taxation of 7 *l. per Cent.* upon all Alienations of Lands to the true Value; as alſo ſeven Pounds *per Cent.* upon all Dowries or Marriage-Monies the like; If it be juſtly uſed in *England* were worth at leaſt 100000 *l. per Annum*; with many other Taxations upon Meal, and upon all Merchandize in all Towns, as well Port-Towns, which here I omit, as not fit for *England:* And in Satisfaction to the Subjects for theſe Taxes, your Majeſty may be pleaſed to releaſe them of Wardſhips, and to enjoy their Eſtates at 18 years old, and in the mean time their Profit to be preſerved for their own Benefit. And alſo in Forfeitures of Eſtates by Condemnation, your Majeſty may releaſe the Subject, as not to take the Forfeiture of their Lands, but their Goods (High-Treaſon only excepted); and to allow the Counſel of Lawyers in Caſes of Life and Death, as alſo not to be condemned without two Witneſſes; with ſuch like Benefits, which import much more their good than all the Taxations named can prejudice them.

Item, That ſome of the former Taxations be uſed in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as may eaſily be brought about by the firſt Example thereof uſed in *England*, may very well be made to increaſe your Revenue there more than it is by 200000 *l. per Ann.*

Item,

Item, All Offices in the Land, great and ſmall, in your Majeſty's Grant may be granted with condition to pay you a part yearly according to the true value. This in time may be worth, as I conceive, an hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. Adding alſo Notaries, Attornies, and ſuch like, to pay ſome proportion yearly towards it, for being allowed by your Majeſty to practiſe, and prohibiting elſe any to practiſe in ſuch Places.

Item, I know an aſſured Courſe in your Majeſty's Navy, which may ſave at leaſt Forty thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; which requiring a whole Diſcourſe by it ſelf, I omit; only do promiſe you to do it whenſoever you command.

Item, To reduce your Majeſty's Houſhold to Board-wages, as moſt other Princes do, reſerving ſome few Tables. This will ſave your Majeſty 60000 *l. per Annum*, and eaſe greatly the Subjects beſides, both in Carriages and Proviſion, which is a good Reaſon that your Majeſty in Honour might do it.

Item, Whereas your Majeſty's Laws do command the ſtrict keeping of Faſting-days, you may alſo prohibit on thoſe Days to eat Eggs, Cheeſe, or white Meats, but ſuch only as are contented to pay 18 *d. per Annum* for their liberty to eat them; and the better ſort 10 *s.* The Employment of this may be for the Defence of the Land in maintaining the Navy, Garriſons and ſuch like, much after the faſhion of a *Cruzado* in *Spain*, as your Majeſty knoweth.

Laſtly, I have a Courſe upon Catholicks, and very ſafe for your Majeſty being with their good liking, as it may be wrought to yield you preſently at leaſt 200000 *l. per Annum*, by raiſing a certain value upon their Lands, and ſome other Impoſitions, which requiring a long Diſcourſe by it ſelf, I will

will omit it here, ſetting it down in my Inſtructions: It will ſave your Majeſty at the leaſt 10000 *l. per Annum*, to make it pain of Death and Confiſcation of Goods and Lands for any of the Officers to couzen you, which now is much to be feared they do, or elſe they could not be ſo rich; and herein to allow a fourth part Benefit to them that ſhall find out the Couzenage.

Here is not meant Officers of State, as the Lord Treaſurer, *&c.* being Officers of the Crown. The Sum of all this amounteth to Two Millions and two hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. Suppoſe it be but one Million and a half, as ſurely your Majeſty may make by the Courſes ſet down; yet is more than I promiſed in my Letter for your Majeſty's Service, beſides ſome Sums of Mony in preſent by the Courſes following.

Imprimis, By the Prince's Marriage.

Secondly, To make all the Earls in *England Grandees*, as in *Spain* and *Principi*, with ſuch like Priviledges, and to pay 20000 *l.* apiece for it.

Thirdly, Alſo if you make them Feodaries of the Towns belonging to their Earldoms, if they will for it——————beſides, as they do to the King of *Spain* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. And ſo likewiſe Barons to be made Earls and Peers, to pay Nineteen thouſand Pounds apiece. I think it might yield Five hundred thouſand Pounds, and oblige them more ſure to your Majeſty.

Fourthly, To make choice of two hundred of the richeſt Men in *England* in Eſtate that be not Noblemen, and make them Titular, as it is uſed in *Naples*, and paying for it: That is, a Duke thirty thouſand Pounds, a Marqueſs fifteen thouſand Pounds,

Pounds, an Earl ten thouſand Pounds, a Baron or Viſcount five thouſand Pounds.

It is to be underſtood that ancient Nobility of Barons and Earls are to preceed theſe as Peers, tho' theſe be made Marqueſſes or Dukes. This may raiſe a Million of Pounds, and more to your Majeſty. To make Gentlemen of low Quality, and Franklins or rich Farmers Eſquires to preceed them, would yield your Majeſty alſo a great Sum of Mony in preſent.

I know another Courſe to yield your Majeſty Three hundred thouſand Pounds in Mony, which as yet the time ſerveth not to deliver until your Majeſty be reſolved to proceed in ſome of the former Courſes, which till then I omit.

Other Courſes alſo that may make preſent Mony, I ſhall ſtudy for your Majeſty's Service; and as I ſhall find them out acquaint you withal.

Laſtly, To conclude all theſe Diſcourſes by the Application of this Courſe uſed for your Profit, that is, not only the Means to make you the Richeſt King that ever *England* had, but alſo your Safety augmented thereby to be moſt ſecure. Beſides what is ſhewed in the firſt part of this Diſcourſe, I mean by the occaſion of the Taxation, and raiſing of Monies, your Majeſty ſhall have Cauſe and Means to imploy in all Places of the Land ſo many Officers and Miniſters to be obliged to you for their own Profit and Intereſt, as nothing can be attempted againſt your Perſon and Royal State over the Land, but ſome of theſe ſhall in all probability have means to find it out and hinder it. Beſides this Courſe will repreſs many Diſorders and Abuſes in the publick Government, which were hard to be diſcovered by Men indifferent.

To

To prohibit Gorgious and Coſtly Apparel to be worn but by Perſons of good Quality, ſhall ſave the Gentry of the Kingdom much more Mony than they ſhall be Taxed to pay your Majeſty.

Thus withal I humbly take my leave, and kiſs your Gracious Hands, deſiring Pardon for my Errors I may commit herein.

A Copy of the Commiſſion produced by the Iriſh *for juſtification of their Rebellion.*

CHARLES by the Grace of God King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all our Catholick Subjects within our Kingdom of *Ireland*, greeting: Know ye that we for the ſafeguard and preſervation of our Perſon have been enforced to make our abode and reſidence in our Kingdom of *Scotland* for a long Seaſon, occaſioned by the obſtinate and diſobedient Carriage of our Parliament in *England* againſt us, who have not only preſumed to take upon them the Government and diſpoſing of thoſe Princely Rights and Prerogatives that have juſtly deſcended upon us from our Predeceſſors both Kings and Queens of the ſaid Kingdom for many hundred Years paſt, but alſo have poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole Strength of the ſaid Kingdom, in appointing Governors, Commanders and Officers, in all Parts and Places therein at their own Will and Pleaſure, without our conſent, whereby we are deprived of our Sovereignty, and left naked without Defence. And foraſmuch as we are in

in our ſelf very ſenſible that theſe Storms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the Vehemency of the Puritan Party into our Kingdom of *Ireland*, and endanger our Regal Power and Authority there alſo: Know ye therefore that we repoſing much Care and Truſt in your Duty and Obedience, which we have for many Years paſt found, do hereby give unto you full Power and Authority to aſſemble and meet together with all the ſpeed and diligence that a Buſineſs of ſo great Conſequence doth require, and to adviſe and conſult together by ſufficient and diſcreet numbers at all Times, Days and Places, which you ſhall in your Judgments hold moſt convenient and material, for the ordering, ſettling and effecting of this great Work (mentioned and directed unto you in our Letters) and to uſe all politick Ways and Means poſſible to poſſeſs your ſelves (for our Uſe and Service) of all the Forts, Caſtles and Places of Strength and Defence within the ſaid Kingdom, (except the Places, Perſons and Eſtates of our Loyal and Loving Subjects the *Scots*) and alſo to arreſt and ſeize the Goods, Eſtates and Perſons of all the Engliſh Proteſtants within the ſaid Kingdom to our uſe. And in your Care and ſpeedy Performance of this our Will and Pleaſure, we ſhall perceive your wonted Duty and Allegiance to us, which we ſhall accept and reward in due time. Witneſs our ſelf at *Edinburgh* the firſt day of *October*, in the ſeventeenth Year of our Reign.

Carolus

Carolus Princeps Gregorio PP. 15.

Sanctiſſime Pater,

BEatitudinis veſtræ literas non minore gratitudine & obſervantia accepimus, quam exigat, ex qua novimus exaratas, inſignis benevolentia & pietatis affectus: Atque illud imprimis gratum fuit nunquam ſatis laudata Majorum exempla inſpicienda nobis a Veſtra Sanctitate atq; imitanda fuiſſe propoſita; Qui licet multoties omnium fortunarum & vitæ ipſius diſcrimen adiverint, quo fidem Chriſtianam laturi propagarent, haud tamen alacriori animo in infeſtiſſimos Chriſti hoſtes Crucis Chriſti vexilla intulerunt, quam nos omnem opem & operam adhibebimus, ut quæ tam diu exulavit Pax & Unitas, in Chriſtianam Rempublicam poſtliminio reducatur. Cum enim D. ſcoracarum Patris malitia inter illos ipſos qui Chriſtianam profitentur religionem tam infelicia ſeminarit diſſidia, hoc vel maxime neceſſarium ducimus ad ſacro-ſanctam Dei & Salvatoris Chriſti gloriam felicius promovendam. Et non minori nobis honori futurum exiſtimabimus tritam Majorum noſtrorum veſtigiis inſiſtentes viam, in piis ac religioſis ſuſceptis illorum æmulos atq; imitatores extitiſſe quam genus noſtrum ab illis atq; originem duxiſſe. Atq; ad idem nos iſtud plurimum inflammat perſpecta nobis Domini Regis ac Patris noſtri voluntas, & quo flagrat deſiderium ad tam Sanctum opus porrigendi manum auxiliatricem, tum qui Regium pectus exedit dolor, cum perpendit quam ſævæ exoriantur ſtrages quam deplorandæ calamitates ex Principum Chriſtianorum diſſentionibus. Judicium vero quod ſanctitas veſtra tulit de noſtro cum Domo ac Principe Catholico affinitatem &

amplia-

nuptias contrahendi desiderio, & Caritati vestræ est consentaneum, nec a sapientia invenietur alienum. Nunquam tanto quo ferimur studio, nunquam tam arcto & tam indissolubili vinculo ulli mortalium conjungi cuperemus, cujus odio religionem prosequeremur. Quare Sanctitas vestra illud in animum inducat, ea modo nos esse semperq; futuros moderatione, ut quam longissime abfuturi simus ab omni opere quod odium testari possit ullam adversus religionem Catholicam Romanam: Omnes potius captabimus Occasiones quo leni benignoque rerum cursu siniſtræ omnes suspiciones e medio penitus tollantur: Ut sicut omnes unam individuam Trinitatem & unum Christum crucifixum confitemur, in unam fidem unanimiter coalescamus: Quod ut assequamur labores omnes atq; vigilias, regnorum etiam atque vitæ pericula parvi pendimus. Reliquum est ut quas possumus maximas pro literis quas insignis muneris loco ducimus, gratias agentes Sanctitati vestræ omnia prospera & felicitatem æternam comprecamur. Datum Madridi 20 Junii, 1623.

Prince

Prince Charles *to Pope* Gregory 15.

Moſt Holy Father,

WE have received your Holineſs's Letter with no leſs Gratitude and Reſpect than is due to the ſingular good Will and pious Affection with which we know it was written. Nothing could be more acceptable to us than to find the renowned Examples of our Anceſtors propoſed to us by your Holineſs for our Study and Imitation; who tho' they frequently hazarded both Lives and Fortunes to propagate the Chriſtian Faith, yet never more chearfully carried the Enſigns of the Croſs againſt the moſt mortal Enemies of Jeſus Chriſt, than we will endeavour to the utmoſt of our Power to reſtore that Peace and Union which has been ſo long baniſhed from the Chriſtian Commonwealth. For ſince the Malice of the Father of Diſcord has ſow'd ſuch unhappy Diviſions among thoſe who profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, we think ſuch Endeavours to be abſolutely neceſſary to promote the Glory of God and of Chriſt our Saviour. Nor ſhall we eſteem it leſs Honour to tread in the ſame Path, and to be their Rivals and Imitators in pious and religious Undertakings, than to derive our Deſcent from them. And to this we are very much incouraged by the known Inclination of the King our Father, who deſires nothing more ardently than to lend a helping Hand to ſo pious a Work, and feels the greateſt anguiſh of Heart, when he conſiders the cruel Slaughters and deplorable Calamities that ariſe from the Diſſentions of Chriſtian Princes. The Judgment your Holineſs makes of our Deſire

to contract an Alliance and Marriage with a Catholick Family and Princeſs, is not only agreeable to your Charity, but will alſo be found ſuitable to your great Wiſdom. For we would not ſo vehemently deſire to enter into ſo cloſe and undiſſolvable an Engagement with any mortal Creature, whoſe Religion we hated. Therefore your Holineſs may reſt aſſured that our Moderation is and ever ſhall be ſuch as will preſerve us from any Action that may teſtify the leaſt hatred to the *Roman* Catholick Religion; and that by eaſy and gentle Means we will rather embrace all Occaſions of removing thoſe invidious Impreſſions and Suſpicions which are among us: That as we confeſs one individual Trinity, and one Chriſt crucified, ſo we may unanimouſly re-unite in one Faith; for the attainment of which we ſhall not only employ our vigilant Care and utmoſt Diligence, but moſt readily hazard our Life and Kingdoms. It remains only to give your Holineſs our beſt Thanks for your Letter, which we eſteem a moſt ſingular Preſent, and to wiſh your Holineſs all manner of Proſperity and eternal Happineſs. At *Madrid*, *June* 20, 1623.

A Let-

A Letter written by Robert Sidney *Earl of* Leiceſter, *to* Algernon Piercy *Earl of* Northumberland, *touching the Service of* Ireland.

My Lord,

THO' I have written thrice to the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of *Ireland* ſince my coming from *London*, to give them Account of my ſtay at Court, and that I have alſo written ſeveral Letters to ſome particular Friends, in hope that thereby the Truth might be known and my ſelf rightly underſtood; yet becauſe thoſe Letters peradventure may have miſcarried, and leſt I ſhould incur the cenſure of the Parliament for Negligence or Slackneſs in that Service to which I have been deſign'd, I will truly and as briefly as I can relate to your Lordſhip how I have behaved my ſelf; and if your Lordſhip pleaſe you may communicate it to the Houſe of Peers; as in your Judgment and Favour to me you ſhall think fit; and I hope it will appear that as I have been very impatient of this delay, ſo I have not wanted diligence in the Sollicitation of my Diſpatch.

When I came to *York*, I told the King that I was come thither to receive his Majeſty's Commandments and Inſtructions for that Employment which he had done me the Honour to confer upon me, and I did humbly beſeech him that I might not be ſtaid at Court, becauſe the Parliament did deſire my ſpeedy repair into *Ireland*, and that his Service, as I conceived, did require it; at leaſt that ſome

Governor, if I were not worthy of that Charge, ſhould be preſently ſent into that Kingdom. The King told me that he would think of it. But I muſt confeſs I did not find his Majeſty ſo ready to diſpatch me as I hoped and expected. From that time I did not fail to beſeech his Majeſty to ſend me away, upon every opportunity that I had of ſpeaking to him; and I think there paſſed not a Day that I did not deſire the Secretaries of State and ſome other Perſons about the King, to put his Majeſty in mind of me and to haſten my Diſmiſſion. Divers times I made it my Petition to the King that he would diſpatch me, or declare his Intention that he would not let me go at all. The King ſaid, My Inſtructions ſhould be drawn, and that he would give order to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* to do it as ſpeedily as he could: In expectation whereof I ſtaid about three Weeks till the King came from *York*, at which time his Majeſty appointed me to follow him to *Nottingham*, promiſing that there I ſhould have my Expeditions. I obey'd his Majeſty and came after him to this Town, where I have attended ever ſince, perpetually ſolliciting to be diſpatch'd, and beſeeching his Majeſty that I might either go to my Employment, or have his leave to retire my ſelf to my own Houſe and private Condition: That if he were unwilling to truſt me in an Employment of ſo great Importance, I did beſeech him that I might be no Burden to his Thoughts; and that he would be pleaſed to let me know his Reſolution; becauſe I conceived my ſelf to be under a heavy Cenſure both of the Parliament and of the whole Kingdom, whilſt poſſibly they might think it my Fault that I was ſo long abſent from that Charge which I had undertaken. 'Tis to no purpoſe to tell you every Paſſage; but this I proteſt to your Lordſhip, That

if

if it had been to ſave the Lives of all my Friends and of my ſelf, I could not have done more to procure my Diſpatch. Nevertheleſs I have not been able to advance it one Step; nor have I ſeen any thing to make me hope to have it quickly, till this Morning Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* gave me a Draught of my Inſtructions to peruſe. So I hope that between this and *Monday* I ſhall have done that part, and I will do the beſt I can to procure ſome other thing, without which I know not how I ſhall be able to do any acceptable Service in that Kingdom. Your Lordſhip knows I am a Servant, and I could not run away if I would, or at leaſt it had been to little purpoſe, tho' I ſhould have adventur'd to do ſo indecent and ſo undutiful an Action. Therefore I hope it will be believed that I have not been to blame. Now with your Lordſhip's leave I ſhall trouble you with another Particular, wherein perhaps I ſuffer in the Opinion of thoſe who know not what has paſs'd, tho' I be as innocent as a new-born Child; nay, I have oppoſed it as much as I had Power to do. The King being informed at *York* by ſome officious Perſons, that certain Draught-Horſes were provided to be ſent into *Ireland*, his Majeſty told me that he muſt needs have them for his own uſe. I did humbly beſeech him not to take them away from his own Service in *Ireland*, for which they were bought, and in which they were to be employ'd; and beſides what I ſaid my ſelf, I uſed means by others to ſave the Horſes, ſo that I heard no more of it till I came hither; but then his Majeſty told me again, That he muſt needs have thoſe Horſes, and preſſed me to ſend for them. I repreſented to his Majeſty the inconſiderableneſs of thoſe few Horſes, and that the Parliament might take it very ill, in regard that the Horſes were bought with their Mony for the Service of the poor

Kingdom of *Ireland:* Therefore I did beſeech him not to take them; or howſoever, that he would ſecure me from being an Inſtrument in that which I conceived would much hurt his Affairs; and that I being truſted by the Parliament, could neither do it my ſelf, nor conſent that any other ſhould do that which was a Breach of Truſt, and a great Diſſervice even to his Majeſty himſelf. Notwithſtanding this the King ſent to me by Mr. *Endymion Porter* and Sir *George Hay* at ſeveral times to the ſame purpoſe, but I returned the ſame Anſwer; adding this alſo, That I could not do it and be an honeſt Man to his Service, tho' it be true that the King ſaid he would reſtore the Horſes or pay for them. But for all this it pleaſed his Majeſty to employ one *Errington* who ſerved me, and gave him a Warrant to fetch the Horſes. *Errington* told me of it; and I forbad him as far as I could, to do it, telling him that if he did, he muſt not look to have any thing to do with me for ever; and that I made no doubt the Parliament would hang him for ſtealing their Horſes. This and more I ſaid to *Errington* in the preſence of *James Battiere* my Secretary, who will witneſs it: And conceiving it to be an unjuſt thing in it ſelf, diſpleaſing to the Parliament, and hurtful to the King's Service, I proteſted againſt it; tho' *Errington* ſaid, that his Majeſty had commanded him upon his Allegiance to execute the Warrant. But indeed I told him that I did not believe him; nor could think that his Majeſty would command a Subject upon his Allegiance to take away other Mens Horſes. This I thought ſufficient; but it ſeems I was deceiv'd; for *Errington* without my conſent or knowledge went from *Nottingham* towards *Cheſter* as I heard afterwards, and I have never ſeen him ſince nor heard from him. What he hath done I know not, but I ſent to

Cheſter

Cheſter that the Horſes ſhould be preſently ſhipp'd away, and I cauſed my Secretary to write to Maſter *Hawkin* to take care that neither *Errington* nor any Body from him ſhould receive any more Mony of Mr. *Loftus* or his Deputy, to provide the reſt of the Horſes; for as yet I think there has been only Sixteen hundred Pounds iſſued to buy two hundred of the ſix hundred Horſes allow'd by the Parliament; and of that Sixteen hundred Pounds I will do the beſt I can to get a good Account, whereof the Parliament, God willing, ſhall be informed with my utmoſt Care and Diligence. Truly, my Lord, I do the beſt I can to ſerve my Country: They that are wiſer may do more; but of any thing contrary to the Duty of an honeſt Man, the Parliament upon ſtrict examination ſhall never find me guilty. For the reputation of Honeſty and Fidelity is, and I can ſay no more, as dear to me as your eſteeming me

Your Lordſhip's humble and

affectionate Servant,

Nottingham, Sept. 1642.

R. Leiceſter.

A Letter to the Queen, by the Lord George Digby.

Madam,

I Shall not adventure to write to your Majeſty with Freedom but by Expreſſes, or till ſuch time as I have a Cypher, which I beſeech your Majeſty to vouchſafe me. At this time therefore I ſhall only let your Majeſty know, that the humbleſt and moſt faithful Servant you have in the World is here at *Middleburg*, where I ſhall remain in the privateſt way I can, 'till I receive Inſtructions how to ſerve the King and your Majeſty in theſe Parts. If the King betake himſelf to a ſafe Place, where he may avow and protect his Servants, from Rage I mean and Violence, for from Juſtice I will never implore it, I ſhall then live in Impatience and Miſery till I wait upon you. But if after all he hath done of late he ſhall betake himſelf to the eaſieſt and compliantest ways of Accommodation, I am confident that then I ſhall ſerve him more by my abſence than by all my Induſtry: And it will be a Comfort to me in all Calamities, if I cannot ſerve you by my Actions, that I may do it in ſome kind by my Sufferings for your ſake, having I proteſt to God, no meaſure of Happineſs or Misfortune in this World, but what I derive from your Majeſty's value of my Affection and Fidelity.

Middleburg, 21 *Jan.*
1641.

Another

Another Letter to the Queen, from the Lord George Digby.

Madam,

THIS the firſt Contentment that I have been capable of this long time, that your Majeſty is ſafely arrived in *Holland*, withdrawn from a Country ſo unworthy of you. I ſhould have waited the firſt upon you, both to have rendred my Duty according to the precedence of my Obligation above others, and to have informed your Majeſty the earlieſt of the ſtate of this Place whither you are coming, both in point of Affections and Intereſts; but that there fly about ſuch Reports that the Parliament hath deſired your Majeſty not to admit me to your preſence, as I dare not preſume into it without particular permiſſion. The ground of their Malevolence towards me in this particular is ſaid to be, upon ſome Letters which they have preſumed to open, directed to your Majeſty from me; which I profeſs I cannot apprehend. For I am certain that I have not written to your Majeſty the leaſt Word that can be wreſted to an ill Senſe by my greateſt Enemies, having not ſo much as mentioned any Buſineſs to your Majeſty ſince I left *England*. To the King I confeſs I wrote once with that hardineſs which I thought his Affairs and Complexion requir'd; but that was ſent by ſo ſafe Hands, as I cannot apprehend the miſcarriage of it. However, *Madam*, if my misfortune be ſo great, that I muſt be deprived of the ſole comfort of my Life, of waiting on your Majeſty, and following your Fortunes, I beſeech you

let

let my Doom be ſo ſignified to me as that I may retire with the leaſt Shame that well may be, to bewail my Unhappineſs; which yet will be ſupportable, if I may but be aſſured that inwardly that generous and princely Heart preſerves me the place of

Madam,

Hague, Mar. 10. 1642.

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful, and moſt affectionate humble Servant.

The Form of a Bill for a new Coronation-Oath, purſuant to the Treaty in the Iſle of Wight.

WHEREAS the ſolemn Oaths and Stipulations of Kings to their People at their Inaugurations to their Crowns, and the renewing and inlarging of them after Civil Breaches and Wars, have been reputed and found a principal and moſt effectual Means to preſerve Peace and Amity between them and their People, and prevent unjuſt Incroachments upon their Subjects Rights, Laws and Liberties: And whereas by reaſon of ſome Alterations made without Authority of Parliament in the Oath which his Majeſty took at his Coronation, and of the late unhappy Differences between him and his Houſes of Parliament, there is juſt and neceſſary occaſion adminiſtred to alter and enlarge the ancient Oath and Stipulation of the Kings of *England* to their People, for the better

better compoſing of the preſent Differences, and preventing all future Breaches and Incroachments upon the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, and the introducing and exerciſing of all Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power; Be it therefore Ordained and Enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That the King's Majeſty upon his return to this preſent Parliament, and at all other times when both Houſes of Parliament ſhall require the ſame, and his Heirs and Succeſſors Kings and Queens of this Realm at their Coronations, and at all times elſe when their Parliaments ſhall think fit, ſhall take this enſuing Oath before both Houſes of Parliament, to be adminiſtred by the Speaker of the Lord's Houſe for the time being, in Form following.

We *CHARLES* King of *England*, in the Name and Preſence of the moſt High God, do ſolemnly ſwear and proteſt to all our Subjects and Liege-People of this our Realm of *England*, That we ſhall and will to the uttermoſt of our Skill and Power all the Days of our Reign over them, inviolably keep, preſerve and maintain the true Reformed Religion and Confeſſion of Faith therein eſtabliſhed, and all juſt Laws, Cuſtoms, Rights, Franchiſes and Liberties heretofore granted to all or any of our ſaid Subjects and People by our Royal Predeceſſors or our Self, together with the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and likewiſe endeavour to preſerve intirely Peace and Amity between all our Subjects and People, and cauſe equal Juſtice to be adminiſtred to them in Mercy and Truth, without Partiality, Affection or Delay.

That

That we will neither proclaim nor make any open War Foreign or Domeſtick, nor raiſe any Forces, in nor invite or introduce any Foreign Power into our ſaid Realm, nor conclude any publick Truce or Peace, nor impoſe nor levy any Tax, Talliage, Contribution, Aid or Benevolence on our ſaid Subjects and People, nor embace nor inhaunce the Current Coin of this Kingdom, nor alienate any Honours, Mannors, Lands, Rents, Demeaſnes, Caſtles, Forts, Jewels, Ships or Ammunition, belonging to the Crown of this our Realm; nor diſpoſe of our Self nor of our Heir apparent to the Crown in Marriage; nor confer any of the great Offices of State or Judicature within this our Realm; nor create any new Peer or Baron thereof; nor erect or maintain any Monopoly againſt Law; nor grant any Diſpenſation for the Breach of any Penal Statute of this Realm whiles in Force, without common Conſent in Parliament.

That we will duly cauſe a Parliament to be ſummoned within this our Realm once every Year or three Years at leaſt, according to the Statutes in that behalf provided; and will likewiſe give our Royal Aſſent from time to time for altering or repealing all ſuch old Laws as ſhall be held prejudicial, and paſſing all ſuch new Bills and Statutes as ſhall be judged neceſſary and beneficial for our ſaid Subjects and People by both our Houſes of Parliament upon mature Debate.

And if we ſhall at any time (which God defend) wilfully violate this our ſolemn Oath and Proteſtation in all or any part of the Premiſſes, to the Grievance and Prejudice of our ſaid Subjects and People, and ſhall not upon due Information thereof by one or both Houſes of Parliament, or by thoſe intruſted by them with the Militia of this Kingdom,

dom, or by our great Officers and Council of State in the intervals of Parliament redreſs the ſame, We do hereby freely and voluntarily proteſt before God and the World, that then and from thenceforth it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid Houſes of Parliament during their Seſſion, and for the greateſt part of thoſe intruſted by them with the Militia, or for our great Officers and Council of State in the intervals of Parliament, and for all or any of our Subjects and People by their Direction and Command, to aſſemble together in Arms, and by open Force or otherwiſe to redreſs the ſame, and to withſtand and reſiſt us, and to apprehend and ſurprize all ſuch Perſons and Forces as ſhall be aiding or aſſiſting to us therein, without incurring the Guilt of Treaſon, Sedition, Inſurrection, Rebellion, Breach of Allegiance, or any other Crime, Forfeiture or Penalty: It being done in Defence of their juſt Rights, Laws and Liberties, to which they are obliged by the Law of God and Nature.

And that all and every Perſon or Perſons who ſhall be willingly aiding, counſelling or aſſiſting to us in ſuch Caſes and Breaches of all or any Clauſe of this our ſolemn Oath, ſhall and may be preſently proceeded againſt in due Form of Law, and adjudged and executed as Traytors and publick Enemies to Us and this our Realm, or otherwiſe puniſhed according to the quality and degree of their Offence.

And all this we do cordially and ſincerely ſwear and proteſt without any Equivocation or Mental Reſervation; and that we will neither directly or indirectly ſeek to be abſolved from this our Oath.

So God us help.

Di:

Die Lunæ, 1 *Decemb.* 1645.

THE Houſe of Commons doth declare, That it ſhall be an acceptable Service for any Perſon or Perſons to inform this Houſe of any Member or Members of this Houſe, that by himſelf or others, directly or indirectly, hath taken or received any Mony or other Thing of any Perſon or Perſons, for any Matter or Thing depending in this Houſe, or any Committee of this Houſe, ſince the beginning of this Parliament. And the Houſe hath appointed a Committee to receive any ſuch Informations, who are to ſit in the Exchequer-Chamber upon *Thurſday* next in the Afternoon, and ſo from time to time: And the Members of this Houſe are hereby enjoyned, if any of them know of any ſuch Thing ſo taken, in manner as aforeſaid, by any other of the Members, that they do repair to the ſaid Committee and inform them of the ſame.

A Letter

A Letter written by Command of King Charles *the Second, concerning the Marquiſs of* Antrim.

CHARLES R.

RIght truſty and well-beloved Couſins and Counſellors, *&c.* we greet you well. How far we have been from Interpoſing on the behalf of any of our Iriſh Subjects, who by their Miſcarriages in the late Rebellion in that Kingdom of *Ireland*, had made themſelves unworthy of our Grace and Protection, is notorious to all Men; and we were ſo jealous in that particular, that ſhortly after our return into this our Kingdom, when the Marquiſs of *Antrim* came hither to preſent his Duty to us, upon the Information we received from thoſe Perſons who then attended us by a Deputation from our Kingdom of *Ireland*, or from thoſe who at that time owned our Authority there, that the Marquiſs of *Antrim* had ſo misbehaved himſelf towards Us and our late Royal Father of Bleſſed Memory, that he was in no degree worthy of the leaſt Countenance from Us, and that they had manifeſt and unqueſtionable evidence of ſuch his Guilt. Whereupon we refuſed to admit the ſaid Marquiſs ſo much as into our Preſence, but on the contrary committed him Priſoner to our Tower of *London*, where after he had continued ſeveral Months under a ſtrict reſtraint, upon the continued Information of the ſaid Perſons we ſent him into *Ireland*, without interpoſing the leaſt on his behalf, but left him to undergo ſuch a Trial and Puniſhment as by the Juſtice of that our Kingdom ſhould

ſhould be found due to his Crime, expecting ſtill that ſome heinous Matter would be objected and proved againſt him, to make him uncapable, and to deprive him of that Favour and Protection from us, which we knew his former Actions and Services had merited. After many Months attendance there, and, we preſume, after ſuch Examinations as were requiſite, he was at laſt diſmiſs'd without any Cenſure, and without any tranſmiſſion of Charge againſt him to us, and with a Licenſe to tranſport himſelf into this Kingdom. We concluded that it was then time to give him ſome inſtance of our Favour, and to remember the many Services he had done, and the Sufferings he had undergone for his Affection and Fidelity to our Royal Father and our Self, and that it was time to redeem him from thoſe Calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him ſince, as before our happy return; and thereupon we recommended him to you our Lieutenant, that you ſhould move our Council there, for preparing a Bill to be tranſmitted to us, for the re-inveſting him the ſaid Marquiſs into the poſſeſſion of his Eſtate in that our Kingdom, as had been done in ſome other places: To which Letter you our ſaid Lieutenant returned us anſwer, That you had informed our Council of that our Letter, and that you were upon Conſideration thereof, unanimouſly of Opinion, That ſuch a Bill ought not to be tranſmitted to us, the Reaſons whereof would forthwith be preſented to us from our Council. After which time we received the incloſed Petition from the ſaid Marquiſs, which we referr'd to the Conſideration and Examination of the Lords of our Privy Council, whoſe Names are mentioned in that our Reference, which is annexed to the ſaid Petition; who thereupon met together, and after having heard the Marquiſs of *Antrim*, did

did not think fit to make any Report to us, till they might ſee and underſtand the Reaſons which induced you not to tranſmit the Bill we had propoſed, which Letter was not then come to our Hands. After which time we have received your Letter of the 18th of *March*, together with ſeveral Petitions which had been preſented to you as well from the old Soldiers and Adventurers as from the Lady Marchioneſs of *Antrim*, all which we likewiſe tranſmitted to the Lords Referees: Upon a ſecond Petition preſented to us by the Lord Marqueſs, which is here likewiſe incloſed, commanding our ſaid Referees to take the ſame into their ſerious Conſideration, and to hear what the Petitioner had to offer in his own Vindication, and to report the whole Matter to us, which upon a third Petition herein likewiſe incloſed, we required them to expedite with what ſpeed they could. By which deliberate Proceedings of ours you cannot but obſerve, that no Importunity how juſt ſoever, could prevail with us to bring our Self to a Judgment in this Affair without very ample Information. Our ſaid Referees after ſeveral Meetings and peruſal of what hath been offered to them by the ſaid Marqueſs, have reported unto us, That they have ſeen ſeveral Letters, all of them of the Hand-writing of our Royal Father to the ſaid Marqueſs, and ſeveral Inſtructions concerning his treating and joining with the Iriſh in order to the King's Service, by reducing them to their Obedience, and by drawing ſome Forces from them for the Service of *Scotland*: That beſides the Letters and Orders under his Majeſty's Hand, they have received ſufficient Evidence and Teſtimony of ſeveral private Meſſages and Directions ſent from our Royal Father, and from our Royal Mother with the Privity and with the Directions of the King our

Father, by which they are perſuaded, that whatever Intelligence, Correſpondence or Actings, the ſaid Marqueſs had with the Confederate Iriſh Catholicks, was directed or allow'd by the ſaid Letters, Inſtructions and Directions; and that it manifeſtly appears to them, That the King our Father was well pleaſed with what the Marqueſs did after he had done it, and approved the ſame. This being the true ſtate of the Marqueſs his Caſe, and there being nothing proved upon the firſt Information againſt him, nor any thing contained againſt him in your Letter of *March* 18th, but that you were informed he had put in his Claim before the Commiſſioners appointed for executing the Act of Settlement, and that if his Innocence be ſuch as is alledg'd, there is no need of tranſmitting ſuch a Bill to us as is deſir'd; and that if he be nocent, it conſiſts not with the Duty which you owe to us to tranſmit ſuch a Bill, as if it ſhould paſs into a Law, muſt needs draw a great Prejudice upon ſo many Adventurers and Soldiers, who are, as is alledged, to be therein concerned. We have conſidered the Petition of the Adventurers and Soldiers, which was tranſmitted to us by you; the Equity of which conſiſts in nothing, but that they have been peaceably in poſſeſſion for the ſpace of 7 or 8 years of thoſe Lands which were formerly the Eſtate of the Marqueſs of *Antrim* and others, who were all engaged in the late Iriſh Rebellion, and that they ſhall ſuffer very much and be ruined, if thoſe Lands ſhould be taken from them. And we have likewiſe conſidered another Petition from ſeveral Citizens of *London* near ſixty in number, directed to our Self, wherein they deſire, That the Marqueſs his Eſtate may be made liable to the payment of his juſt Debts, that ſo they may not be ruined in the Favour of the preſent Poſſeſſors, who they ſay are

but

but a few Citizens and Soldiers, who have disburs'd very ſmall Sums thereon. Upon the whole Matter, no Man can think we are leſs engaged by our Declaration and by the Act of Settlement, to protect thoſe who are innocent, and who have faithfully endeavoured to ſerve the Crown, how unfortunate ſoever, than to expoſe to Juſtice thoſe who have been really and maliciouſly guilty. And therefore we cannot in Juſtice, but upon the Petition of the Marqueſs of *Antrim*, and after a ſerious and ſtrict Inquiſition into his Actions, declare unto you, That we do find him Innocent from any Malice or Rebellious Purpoſe againſt the Crown; *and that what he did by way of Correſpondence or Compliance with the Iriſh Rebels, was in order to the Service of our Royal Father and warranted by his Inſtructions, and the Truſt repoſed in him; and that the Benefit thereof accrued to the Service of the Crown*, and not to the particular Advantage and Benefit of the Marqueſs. And as we cannot in Juſtice deny him this Teſtimony, ſo we require you to tranſmit our Letter to our Commiſſioners, that they may know our Judgment in this Caſe of the Lord of *Antrim*, and proceed accordingly: And ſo we bid you heartily Farewel.

Given at our Court of Whitehall, July 10, 1663. *in the fifteenth Year of our Reign.*

By His Majeſty's Command,

Henry Bennet.

To our right truſty and right intirely well beloved Couſin and Counſellor James *Duke of* Ormond, *our Lieutenant-General and General Governor of our Kingdom of* Ireland, *and to the Lords of our Council of that our Kingdom.*

Signet-Office, *July* 13, 1663.

Her Majeſty's Letter to George *Lord* Digby. *Paris, April,* 7. 1645.

Monſieur Digby,

THough I received no Letters from you by *Pooley*, I will not forbear to write to you, though it were but to reproach you, and to tell you, that I fear that you are as inconſtant to your Friends as Men are to their Miſtreſſes; I do not ſpeak of you; you know that I am too well acquainted with you. For my part, I have only this fault, to be a good Friend, and I believe you know it, therefore it will not be neceſſary to aſſure you thereof. I have ſeen the Diſpatch that you ſent to *Jermin* concerning *Hertogen*; I believe that you will reſt ſatisfied, for I have the ſame Opinion of him that you have, and many of thoſe Things that he hath written are Lies, and within few days you ſhall hear that I have talk'd with him according to his deſert; which I am reſolved to do, for ſome Reaſons that *Jermyn* will write to you in Cypher. You think it ſtrange that *Wilmot* is ſo well entertained here, which is done according to the Orders which I have under the King's Hand and yours: It is true, his good Carriage here hath merited this good entertainment. *Henry Piercy* and he are not ſo good Friends as we thought; we have diſcovered it in ſome occaſions, where there can be no diſſembling. Concerning *Tho. Eliot*, he hath behaved himſelf well here, and hath ſo earneſtly importuned me for his return, that having no Order from the King to tell him that he ſhould ſtay, I could not keep him longer here. For my part, I believe that he

is

is very truſty, I have charged him to impart unto you what I told him; therefore I ſhall not write any more, my Hand being more lame than ever, and I more

Your very good Friend,

Henriette Marie *R.*

Dr. Goff *to the Lord* Jermin. *April* 17.

THE Prince of *Orange* was very inquiſitive this Week after my Letters from *Paris*, hoping to be reſolved preciſely concerning the Sum of the Portion, as I perceived by his Diſcourſe: For that Point, I gave him this Anſwer, That the Portion alone could not be of that conſideration as to conclude the Marriage, unleſs it were able to give the King ſuch Succours as might probably reſtore his Affairs, which the Sum demanded could not do; And that therefore I was ordered to aſſure him, that if the other Articles were accorded, the Treaty ſhould not break off upon the Sum of the Portion: From thence we came off of the other Particulars, and the Reſolution was this, That the Affair of the Duke of *Lorrain* was to be purſued with all vigor, and for that end Ships ſhould be ſent from hence to meet at the time prefixt, that when the Ambaſſadors are returned, all Endeavours ſhall be uſed to induce the States to a League defenſive and offenſive; and that Monſieur *D'Eſtrade* ſhall return home fully inſtructed in theſe Particulars, that is, to remonſtrate the impoſſibi-

lity (as they call it) of the paſſage for *Holland*, and to facilitate the other to and from *Diep*; And for the ſecond, to perſuade the ſending of an Ambaſſador from *France* hither to that purpoſe; Which yet notwithſtanding the Prince of *Orange* thinks will be very difficult, by reaſon of the King of *Denmark*'s War, to which the *Hollanders* are violently carried: However, all Endeavors are and ſhall be uſed to bring them to our Deſires, for which end I propoſed that in the mean time we might at leaſt have Juſtice from them, and ſuch Acts of Amity, as by their paſt Alliance they were bound unto: Such as are, Firſt, the liberty of their Ports to our Men of War, and the Freedom of them now detained. Secondly, The liberty to ſell our Prizes here as we may do in *Flanders*, at leaſt that both ſides may ſell in their Ports. Thirdly, The diſmiſſion of *Strickland*. Fourthly, The permitting of Arms and Mony to be exported for the King both from hence and from *Dunkirk*, with the denial of the ſame to the Rebels. Fifthly, An open and publick Declaration of their diſlike of the Rebels late Propoſitions ſent to the King, according as in Conſcience they are bound to declare, thereby to preſerve this People from the guilt of approving the Rebellion in *England*; That in ſo doing they ſhould declare no War againſt the Parliament, and it would be a great preparation for the work in hand: This the Prince of *Orange* ſeemed very much to approve of, and hath ordered me to prepare my Papers in this kind againſt the time that their Ambaſſadors come from *England*; And began to ask me concerning the Deſign, and whether I had received any Orders about it: For that I told him I ſhould be particularly inſtructed by the next Poſt; he likes this very

well,

well, and *D'Eſtrade* ſhall be inſtructed about it: This was all that paſt ſince the receipt of yours, beſides that for concluſion the Prince of *Orange* would know, whether if the Duke ſhould fail us, our Treaty were at an end. I anſwered, No, for if the States would be brought to declare for the King, with Shipping, and in other Particulars, as ſhould be preſented to them, I did not doubt but the King would quickly ſubdue the Rebels, which was the end we purſued in this Affair: To which when he replied with more chearfulneſs than has been uſual of late, That all Endeavours ſhould be uſed, I took my leave of him, and do of your——— There's no danger in diſcourſing, as you find, concerning the Portion; for the Conditions for the Princeſs muſt be proportionable to it; And if other things be accorded, they will be ſolicitous themſelves to inlarge the Portion: For that end the Princeſs of *Orange* is very civil to me, and deſires much the Buſineſs ſhould go on. I ſhould be inſtructed what to ſay concerning the condition and habitation of the Princeſs before her going into *England*.

Dr. Goff *to the Lord* Jermin. *April* 24.

I Will not doubt but that all my Letters of laſt Week are received; and if ſo, your Lordſhip doth perceive the whole Negotiation here depends upon full Inſtructions how to proceed in the particular Treaty of the Marriage; wherein the ſeveral Circumſtances being underſtood and agreed, it will quickly appear what the Prince of *Orange* is at, and willing to do with the States for the King's aſſiſtance, without the actual performance whereof, it is to be declared, that the private Articles ſhall not be Signed. For this purpoſe, if the Copies of former Treaties cannot be had, it were neceſſary to ſet down particularly what Houſes and what Dowry the Queen will preſcribe for the Princeſs; and for the Portion, the loweſt Sum that muſt be admitted of, with the times of payment. Yet herein it cannot be prejudicial to leave much unto Debate here, it being reſolved, That nothing ſhall be concluded till the States do fully declare in Defence of the King. Whilſt their Hands are buſie againſt *Denmark* (whither they are now ſending Sixty Men of War, and Six thouſand Foot) it cannot be expected that they ſhould be induced to ſupply the King with any Forces preſently; but yet theſe Things following will be in their Power, and may be expected from the Prince of *Orange*'s Negotiation with them, as ſoon as their Ambaſſadors return: 1. To enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the King, againſt all Enemies whatſoever: And though the effect hereof cannot be the preſent preparing and ſending of

of Forces by Sea and Land, yet they will be brought to it. 2. To publiſh a Declaration of diſlike of the Rebels later Propoſitions ſent to the King; together with the ill uſage of their Ambaſſadors. 3. To ſet at liberty thoſe Ships of ours which are now detained, and to offer the liberty of their Ports hereafter. 4. To permit the ſelling of our Prizes in their Ports; and for that end, ſuch Officers for the King as ſhall be neceſſary. 5. To cauſe Arms and Powder to be Exported for the King, with denying the ſame to the Rebels. 6. To give Letters of repriſal to ſuch of their own People as have been injured by the Parliament. 7. To permit the King to hire or buy Men of War in theſe Countries, to ſet to Sea againſt the Rebels. 8. To admit of no Agents from *England* and *Scotland* that are not ſent by the King, and to diſmiſs them that pretend from the Parliament of either: And in purſuance of theſe Points, if his Majeſty pleaſe to put out of his Protection all ſuch of his Subjects which dwell or Trade here, as have aſſiſted the Rebellion in *England*, the States may proceed to ſuch Confiſcation and Penalties as they ſhall think fit, whereby the King may find a conſiderable Profit, and they be invited to a more vigorous Conjunction with him; and if this be done for the preſent (*France* concurring in the ſame Particulars) it is apparent, by God's Bleſſing, that the King muſt needs overcome the Rebels, if he can but keep his Perſon and the Prince's out of their Hands, till his Friends that are join'd in League with him can ſend more powerful Aſſiſtance.

Though the Portion with the Princeſs were as much as was demanded, and paid by ſeveral parts, as the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be able, it were not poſſible by that to ſerve the King to any effect, unleſs

leſs theſe Things mentioned were together obtained, whereby *London* might be impoveriſhed, which is and will be the Fountain of all this Miſchief: And on the other ſide, let the Portion be never ſo ſmall and ill paid, yet if theſe Things be done, and the King by vertue of this Marriage enabled to borrow Mony, or by any means to appear ſtronger at Sea than they, and at Land with the ſame Power he hath formerly done, by God's Bleſſing, he will be quickly reſtor'd, which will give all the World full Satisfaction concerning this Treaty, and make the Conditions Honourable beyond all queſtion. Upon theſe Conſiderations, I believe your Lordſhip may approve what I wrote by Monſieur *D'Eſtrade*, and ſend ſome Orders accordingly for proceeding in the Treaty of the Marriage apart from other Things.

And for them, beſides what I am inſtructed to do already with the Prince of *Orange*, it will be very neceſſary to write to Sir *William Boſwel*, that upon the coming of the *Holland* Ambaſſadors from *England*, he according to his Office be inſtant with the States, to perform the Duties of their former Alliances with the King; and that he make ſuch other Propoſitions to them as he ſhall judge fit: But when the Prince of *Orange* ſhall find Matters ſucceed well, it will be neceſſary that your Lordſhip in the Quality of an Ambaſſador appear here, to make a firm and quick Concluſion.

In the mean time, it is the Opinion of the Prince of *Orange*, That the Buſineſs of Shipping is without queſtion the ſole Thing which ought to be intended by the Queen, and may probably reſtore the King's Affairs again, though the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Voyage, and the Prince of *Orange*'s Endeavors ſhould fail. When I wrote from *Rotterdam*,

dam, I was not clearly ſatisfied in the Advantages on the King's part, and ſince that the Sickneſs of *Dorp* (who is now perfectly recovered again, and fixedly diſpoſed as he was) kept me from the particular purſuit of that Argument, wherein your Lordſhip had juſt cauſe to be little encouraged with what I wrote before; if it be poſſible to provide Mony, it will prove an excellent Deſign, for the whole execution is to be diſpoſed of by the King as abſolutely as if they were Engliſh Ships, and the Commanders Engliſh, the intention being not for *P.* and *Q.* but for the Honour and Service of the King, for which purpoſe *Dorp* deſires to have large and particular Inſtructions; alſo ſome Perſon of Truſt and Courage to be a Shipboard with him by whom he might correſpond with the Queen; and that his Majeſty would appoint ſome Ports to which all Prizes might be brought, and there judged, which he deſires ſhould be principally 1.——and there Officers of Truſt to be eſtabliſhed, all which ſhall be particularly ſet down under his own Hand, and before concluſion of the Matter be made, be conſidered by the Prince of *Orange*, who talks of this particular with pleaſure: The condition for himſelf is very ſhort but very great, to preſcribe nothing, but truſt the King and Queen in that point; but for his Officers, he expects liberal Pay and Reward, as it ſhall be deſerved: So that in all reſpects, this is to be eſteemed his Majeſty's Royal Execution; but that the Commanders and Maſters are Strangers, and Ships hired. And it is here pronounced by all that have knowledge of their Majeſty's Affairs, and any Thoughts and Endeavours for their Reſtitution, that this is ſo neceſſary to be done, that without it all other good Succeſſes will but ſerve to protract

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the War, and not at all to procure Peace; for till *London* be humbled, the Rebels can never be reduc'd to Reaſon; but I know Arguments in this kind are not ſo needful as Prayers, that God would ſend ſome means to provide the Mony.

For the Garter which is deſigned for the young Prince, it is very earneſtly deſired by them all, and ſhall be conſtantly worn by the Prince in that manner as in *England:* The Prince of *Orange* deſires that the King would write himſelf to him concerning it, as alſo to the States, and that it may be conferred after the ſame manner as it was to the P. Elector in the Field, if it might, before the beleaguering of any Town begun: But of theſe Things both Sir *William Boſwel*, who hopes to be imployed in it, and Mr. *Hemſleet* will write at large.

Lord

Lord Jermin *to the Lord* Digby. *Paris*; May 19.

I Wrote to you yeſterday by Colonel *Fitz-Williams*, I conceive you will find cauſe to take the Buſineſs that concerned him into conſideration: I have ſent you now a Copy of Dr. *Goff*'s Diſpatch out of *Holland*, by which you will ſee the ſtate of that Buſineſs reduced to this only Hope, That the return of the Ambaſſadors out of *England* may not only give Prince *Orange* a diſpoſition to ſet on foot that which before he was not confident enough of his own Strength to attempt, but alſo afford him ſome hopes of effecting it; of this we ſhall ſee a ſudden iſſue; the other Advantages we expect from thence, as the Ships for the D. of *Lorrain*, and Supplies of Mony by the Marriage, are in an Eſtate not much to be relied on; for the Buſineſs of the Duke, I much fear will away; the Mony of the Marriage will not be conſiderable enough to conclude it; for that reaſon it may be we may ſingle that advantage from the reſt, even without the conſideration of the Marriage: So that we have no more to do, but to attend the iſſue of the hopes of the Declaration, and according to that, proceed or let fall the whole Buſineſs, and look after—— as a thing to be managed according to the means we ſhall find here to go through with it. We ſhall know next Week what to depend upon for the Duke of *Lorrain*, which failing, we ſhall preſume our Pretenſions here for Monies in place of that which that Expedition would have coſt them here. The Clergy aſſembles next Week, with whom we ſhall ſet on foot the liberty the French

French Queen Regent hath given us to try their Inclinations for the ſupport of the Affairs of *England*. *Trasdirk* is gone from *Dunkirk* three Weeks ſince with four Frigats, 6040 Muskets, 2000 pair of Piſtols, 1200 Carabines, Swords, 400 Shovels, 27000 Pounds of Match, and 50000 Pounds of Brimſtone. I hope he is arrived before now: His Arms were all embarked before *Allen* arrived there; ſo that I cannot aſſure you that *Allen* will be provided with that proportion which I ſent you word would be ſent to Marqueſs *Montroſſe*. The Queen hath ſent 400 Barrels of Powder to *Dartmouth*; ſhe hath advice of the arrival of 200, and hopes the other will ſpeedily arrive: She could not get the Merchants to undertake the Carriage of them, without ingaging her ſelf for them, in caſe they were not paid in *England*. The Queen hath now received, as I wrote before, the King's Order for Shipping for the Tin from time to time; whereupon laſt Week ſhe gave Order for 4000 Pounds Sterling to be ſent to *Falmouth*, for that proportion which ſhe was advertiſed by Sir *Nicholas Criſp* would be ready there at the end of *May*, and hath demanded a Ship of the Prince of *Orange* for that purpoſe: She had adviſed laſt Week, that the Ship is accorded ſo, that it is undoubtedly upon the way. The King's Order concerning the Tin was but during pleaſure; therefore, pray have a care there be no change, without giving the Queen timely advice of it. Her Majeſty having been ſerved by Sir *Nicholas Criſp* at her coming out of *England* with affection and diligence, is deſirous to make him ſome return; and therefore intreats you to aſſiſt him in his Affairs, as he ſhall preſent them to you particularly, for the tranſportation of ſome Wools; the proceed of which he undertakes to return in Ammunition. He is alſo a Suitor to the Queen for

for her Recommendation to the King, to be a Collector of the Customs in the West, in which he had formerly a promise: Pray advise me in your next, how far the Queen may reasonably interpose in that particular. For the Proposition concerning the Duke of *York*'s going into *Ireland*, the Queen bids me tell you, That she cannot yet, for any reason she can discern, approve of it. The Business of her Majesty's Jewels is so pressing upon her, that unless in the future she be as fortunate as she hath been hitherto, she will undergo great Trouble and Inconvenience: That you may perceive this, I send you a short Note of the Parcels engaged in *Holland*, for which there must be Use duly paid every six Months, or the Jewels must be lost: For these Sums for which they are pawned for, are very inferior to their value. For this reason it is most necessary to continue the Tin in the Queens Hands, lest she should fail of those other means, that hitherto she hath had for the discharge of these Instructions; if otherwise she finds means to do it, then all the Profits of the Tin will be duly accounted for to the King. Just now your Letter of *April* the 11th, and the King's of the 10th are come, to which you can have no Answer this Week; they always come to us not under a Months time, whereas I perceive you receive ours in a Fortnight. Pray rectifie this if you can.

Lord

Lord Jermin *to the Lord* Digby. *Paris*, May 26, 1645.

YEſterday I received yours of the ſeventeenth of *April* by the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, by which you may pleaſe to obſerve, That all your Letters by that way are ſtill a Month at leaſt a coming; it will be good to enquire where the ſtop is made; at the ſame time I received the King's of the Thirtieth of *April* by *Sabran*, and I mark that by him they come ſtill quicker: By both, and by all other concurring, I ſee that our Affairs in *England*, if they had received any competent aſſiſtance from abroad, would have been in an excellent condition; that which I moſt lament, is the Queens inability in the relief of Marqueſs *Montroſſe*, for which I conceive ſhe had provided by ordering *Haſdouck* to furniſh him out of the proportions he had provided for *England*. The proportions deſigned for him, I have mentioned in my former Letters, but *Haſdouck* would not obey the Queens Directions, but carried all he had provided into *England*, ſo that the Queen remaining without credit, or other means to do that Work, it remains now imperfect until ſhe be furniſhed with one or the other: Something ſhe hath ſince attempted, but it is not to be relied on this *May*, that no poſſible Things within her Power ſhall be omitted for this purpoſe, for ſhe conceives the importance of it even beyond that which you have repreſented. Our *Holland* News from *Scotland*, which we have often, do no leſs than yours confirm the neceſſity and moment of this conſideration. I ſend you herewithal what I had laſt Week from

from Doctor *Goff*, by which you will perceive there is since the return of the Ambassador, some new hopes of prevailing with the States for the Declaration against the Rebels, which is a thing of so great concernment, that we must make it our endeavour not to frustrate the hopes of it by a sudden breaking off the Treaty, and to defend our selves against the Prejudices we sustain by the expectation of the Success; for that cannot be assured enough, to rely on it for great present Utilities; and methinks it were a hard thing, being thus awakned in the consideration, to provide against both the Inconveniences. The Duke of *Lorrain* hath again this last Week made so many new Protestations of his Intentions, that the most positive Commands that could be to Sir *Hen. de Vic.* have not prevailed with him to break off the Treaty, but his Troops now March, though himself do not remain at *Bruxels*; so that it will be impossible for any Art to prolong the Business beyond four or five days, but there is no hopes to be allowed to it. The Businesses here to be done, which shall be carefully attended, are, That of *Holland*, the Form I have proposed in this Letter; the supply of Marques *Montross* with Arms and Ammunition; the West with the same for the Prince's new Levies, and for the Supply of the King's and Prince *Rupert's* Army, and the relief of *Garnsey*; for the Prince of *Wales* his Army *Will. Godolphin* is very solicitous, what he will be able to effect, is as doubtful as the Queens expectation in all the other Particulars; Mony for the King is also in her Thoughts and Pretentions; and now the Clergy is assembled, upon which many of our hopes have depended, she will with all the instance and care that may be have that way attempted. We

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are at this time ſtrangely ſolicitous for you, for there ſeems to be a gathering together on both ſides near *Oxford*, like to produce ſome notable Encounter, which cannot well be followed but with great Events; God make them proſperous, and enable us here to contribute ſomething more hereunto than our Prayers.

I am yours.

Your laſt concerning Tho. Eliot, *where you ſeem to take notice we had not here provided according to Order, is anſwered in my former ones, ſo as I am confident you are fully ſatisfied in that Point.*

Lord

Lord Jermin *to the Lord* Digby. *Paris*, June 9, 1645.

YEſterday I received yours of *April* the twenty ninth from *Oxford*, whereby I muſt needs obſerve to you ours are received in half the time that yours are coming hither; now you are removed from *Oxford* I fear it will yet be harder for you to ſend to *London* about all Things. The Queen recommends it to you; I ſend you here incloſed Dr. *Goff*'s laſt Diſpatch Word for Word, by that you will ſee the eſtate of that Buſineſs. Sir *H. de Vic* is now here, yeſterday arrived with the Dukes laſt Demands; to Morrow he attends Cardinal *Mazarin* and as ſoon as the Anſwer is gotten, and Queen Regent's Reſolution in a Supply of Arms and Ammunition we have now demanded, to which already we have ſome Promiſes advanced, *Petit* ſhall be diſpatched, who is ſtaid for that end, and to return to us with ſome Information of the ſtate you are in, which the laſt Letters ſpeak ſo variouſly of, that we are in much Pain. Arms and Ammunition I will be again confident we ſhall ſpeedily get; but for Mony, I can give no good hopes of it, although the Clergy be now altogether, from whom we have ſo many Expectations. Sir *Kenelm Digby* is arrived at *Rome*, hath had Audience of the Pope, who hath given him the beſt reception that the firſt Viſit was capable of, that is, the faireſt Promiſes in general that can be wiſhed; if he may be relied on, there are good hopes of Mony there, but you know he is of a Sanguine Family, and himſelf yet the Melancholieſt of it; he hath viſited ſome other of the petty

Princes of *Italy*, but they are a frugal Generation. *Talbot* is coming from *Venice* without any effect of his Voyage: A Man the Queen ſent four Months ago into *Scotland* to the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, this day arrived: It grives me *Haſdouck* did not obey the Queen's Order for his Supply, but now again that ſhall be ſuddenly attempted, I hope with better Succeſs, yet his arrival in the Weſt hath been very opportune for the Deſigns of the Prince of *Wales* there, which I obſerve to you as a Service ſolely of the Queens; for nothing but her Commands could prevail with him to undertake this Supply, therefore pray give him what Help you can to get his Mony. Pray commend my Service to Prince *Rupert*, and make my Excuſe I write not to him; by ſomething I hear I hope you two are good Friends, which I much rejoyce at, and conjure you to do all you can to the continuance of it if it be ſo, and to the making of it ſo if it be otherwiſe. I reſt yours.

The Queen hath written her ſelf to the King.

You will find in Dr. *Goff*'s Letter ſeveral Things deſired to be ſent from *England*, all in my Judgment moſt material, and therefore to be haſtned to him or Sir *William Boſwel*, with the greateſt expedition that can be. He propoſeth the ſending of my Man (*Carteret* being already gone to *Holland* with Inſtructions for the Buſineſs of the Tin) to attend that in *England*, who may perhaps not follow the Doctors Order in coming to you for theſe Things; therefore I pray you, as ſoon as you receive this, let them be diſpatched and ſent by an Expreſs to yours.

Lord

Lord Jermin *to the Lord* Digby. *St.* Germain, *Auguſt* 5, 1646.

I Wrote to you yeſterday by the Ordinary; Something I have to add by this Expreſs the Queen ſends to viſit the King, and to bring her back an accompt of his Health, and of the ſtate of his Affairs. Her reſolution of ſending *Cockeram* into *Denmark*, is without doubt very opportune; For upon the concluſion of the Peace with the *Swedes* he cannot but be in a condition to help us, and if as it ſhall be in the firſt place demanded, he could be prevailed with to give us ſuch an Army as might land in any place where the King hath no Forces, without fearing who they meet, their Deſcent at *Scarborough* or *Burlington* would give a new turn to all; But this is a Felicity I dare not hope. That which with more aſſurance I look upon, which in the ſecond place ſhall be ſolicited, would be of infinite uſe, That is, a ſmall number of Men, ſome Mony, Arms and Ammunition, and all to go to *Scotland* to Marqueſs *Montroſs*: But the Men in that caſe muſt ſome of them be Horſemen, five hundred at leaſt, and their Horſe to paſs with them: This I conceive would enable Marqueſs *Montroſs* to make his Victories profitable as well as miraculous: But in the mean Eſtate he is, for want of Horſe (for all that he complains in his Letter to me) and of Arms and Ammunition, his Advantages have brought almoſt none to the King his Affairs, for he advances not into the good parts of *Scotland*, nor is ſo conſiderable to the Army in *England*, as that they have forborn for fear of him to leave their Country expoſed to him: I cannot

ſend you by this Bearer ſo great a Volume as *Cockeram*'s Inſtructions would be, but you ſhall have them by the next: He ſhall have order to offer the Iſlands that *Pooley* had order to offer to the King of *Denmark*. The Winter growing on makes me not apprehend that all our Loſſes can bring us ſo ſoon to an end as this Summer, and the ill Weather will reprieve us until either this or ſome other Help be found out. The Queen is therefore now more induſtrious than ever, and hath found means to get twenty thouſand Piſtols for——

I once wrote to you of, ſo that if the Perſons that ſhould have undertaken it be ſtill of the ſame Mind, and the Prince of *Orange*, which we have written to know, that Buſineſs will go forward and may prove of great uſe in many Conſiderations; but the importanteſt Aim in it is the inſenſible ingaging the Hollanders in the War. Sir *Kenelm Digby* writes hopefully of Supplies of Mony from *Rome*, but concludes nothing, the Iriſh troubling all our Solas, until the Peace be made with them. I fear all Catholick Help will be drawn that way. Upon this purpoſe I muſt tell you with what amazement the delays of the Peace in *Ireland* is conſidered here, and you leave us ſo ignorant of the condition of the Treaty, that we know not what to ſay of it. Pray by the return of this Bearer, or the firſt likely Paſſage, ſend me the ſtate of it, their Demand, the King of *England* his Offers, and what you know of the Difficulties; If yet it be not concluded, it is not like that ever it will be, by thoſe that manage it now: And therefore it ſeems to me for Satisfaction of thoſe that ſo much preſs it, of the Iriſh, and to ſatisfie this State, who are much of that Opinion, and to ſecure our hopes at *Rome*, and laſtly, to put that Buſineſs into a poſſibility of being concluded,

cluded, that the Propoſition long ſince made to the King, of having the Treaty made here by the Queen and Queen Regent, were not unfitly reſumed. For I am confident the King by this means might have the Peace upon better Terms, and might limit the Queen by the ſame Inſtructions that thoſe that now treat are bound by; and upon this, one of theſe Fruits would follow, That either—— ſhould have the Peace, or the exorbitancy of their Demands would be ſo apparent to the Queen Regent, that we ſhould have great advantage by that. The only Thing I fear is, That the King his Party in *Ireland* might poſſibly not acquieſce in ſuch a Peace as would be fit for the King to make, and then he would have the ſcandal of it (for it will be a ſcandalous one, that is unavoidable) without the benefit of an aſſiſtance from *Ireland*. To conclude, if nothing be done in *Ireland*, I think it moſt neceſſary that the Offers of Treating be withdrawn from thence, and that the Queen may be truſted to Treat and Conclude with the Queen Regent here, with ſuch as the Catholicks from *Ireland* ſhall appoint. This I write to you to conſider of it; by the return of Sir *D. Wyat* you ſhall know more of this particular. This Bearer ſend back immediately, and write without flattering your ſelf or us, the pure and natural ſtate of Affairs. God of Heaven keep you, and give us, if he pleaſe, ſome other Puniſhment for our Faults, than that of our Countries falling into the Hands of the Rebels. I am moſt entirely yours.

I have given *Petit* thirty Pounds for his Journey.

The Accompt.

BOrrow'd at *Rotterd.* of the Burgomasters,	400000
More of the Bank in *Rotterdam*,	25000
In all from *Rotterdam*,	425000
Borrowed of the Bank at *Amsterdam* by Mr. *Sandys*,	84500
At the *Hague* of *Fletcher* c l f t c h e r,	126000
More of him,	40000
At the *Hague* of *Van. Cyren*, by Sir *W. Boswel*,	9000
Of Monsieur *Despernon*,	230000
Of *Webster* by three Obligations together on the Pendant Pearls,	100000
Of him more,	43200
Of him more, and borrowed by him since,	70000
Of Monsieur *Vicford*,	70000
Of Sir *Charles Herbert*,	20000
Of *Collimore* at *Antwerp*,	64000
In all — 1281700 Guilders.	
With *Webster* the six Rubies of the Chain left for about	20000
To *Webster*,	20000
To the Prince *Orange*,	300000

In-

Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved Servant, *Daniel O Neal*, Groom of our Bed-chamber, 27 *June*, 1645.

YOU are forthwith to repair unto our Ports of Dartmouth *and* Falmouth, *where you are to confer with Sir* Nicholas Crisp *Knight, and with Captain* Hasdouck, *or any other Owners of Ships or Frigots in our Service. You are to let them know, that whereas by a Clause in their several Commissions, they are oblig'd upon extraordinary Occasions of our Service to employ their Frigots for six weeks time, according to our special Command, we giving them just payment and satisfaction for the time of their Ships, during the time that they are so employ'd by us; we having now at this time such an occasion for them as doth highly import the good of our Affairs, we do require them to have in readiness to expect our Orders, all such Ships or Frigots as can within a fortnight or three weeks time be set to Sea for a Month or six Weeks Service; and that for the present they do send immediately with you over into* Ireland, *unto such Ports as you shall direct, all such Frigots as are now fitted and ready there into* Ireland, *to expect and obey such Orders as they shall receive from the Marquess of* Ormond, *we assuring the Owners of the said Vessels, that they shall not only receive full satisfaction for the time that they shall be withdrawn from their own Imployments by this our Command, but that we shall carry the same in mind as the most acceptable and important Service that they can possibly do us. And we do further Command you, That in case you shall find that more of the said Frigots than one cannot within*

very

very few days be ready, that you make uſe of the nimbleſt Veſſel you can there find; and that whilſt the others are preparing, you forthwith tranſport your ſelf with all diligence unto the Marqueſs of Ormond, *there to purſue ſuch further Directions as we here give you, having firſt advertiſed us by Expreſſes what we may rely on, and when, concerning the Shipping aforeſaid expected for our Service.*

You are likewiſe to repreſent unto the Marqueſs of Ormond *the great Importance to the good of our Affairs, that we be ſpeedily ſupplied from our Kingdom of* Ireland, *with ſome good number of Foot; that we ſhould be very glad you could frame ſuch a Body there, to be ſent over, as might be worthy his own coming to Command it; in which caſe when we hear from him, we ſhall give him our further Directions: But for the preſent, that no time muſt be loſt in ſending over what numbers can be ſpared of our old Engliſh Army there, as well as what may be procured of the Iriſh, together with the beſt Artillery, as well for Battery as the Field, that the ſaid Marqueſs of* Ormond *can aſſiſt us withal.*

You are to acquaint the ſaid Marqueſs of Ormond *with the diligence uſed here to procure Shipping for their Tranſportation, and what may be relied on of that kind from hence.*

You are to employ your ſelf in ſoliciting what Aids of all kinds may poſſibly be had from the Iriſh, according as you ſhall be inſtructed from the Marqueſs of Ormond: *And what by his appointment you ſhall promiſe or ingage in our Name by way of Invitation or Encouragement to our Service unto any in that Kingdom, we ſhall be careful to make good: But in this and all things elſe of your Negotiation there, you are ſtrictly and punctually to govern your ſelf by ſuch Directions as you ſhall receive from the ſaid Marqueſs of* Ormond,

mond, *and no otherwiſe. Of all this, and what we may expect from thence, and when, you are to give the ſpeedieſt and punctualleſt Accompts you can unto our principal Secretary of State attending.*

From the Lord Digby *to the Lord* Jermin.

SINCE the writing of my other of this ſame Date in my Brother Secretaries Cypher, I have received yours of the 28th of *July* in my new Cypher, which over-joys me: And it is as a Prediction of good Fortune to us, that the Queen bears our Diſaſters with that moderation. You do now find that clearly true which was my Opinion before, that our ill Succeſſes would ſooner warm that State to our Aſſiſtance than our good, it being their Intereſt to ballance Things here. For God's ſake haſten Powder and Match in plenty to the Northern Coaſt, and what Muskets and Piſtols you can, but Ammunition in the firſt place; let them be directed to *Burlington* or *Whitby*, for *Scarborough* is loſt; but yet with ſome caution, as to enquire before they put in, leaſt by any accident the Enemy ſhould have Gariſoned thoſe Places before we come thither.

We are advertiſed from *London* that there are ſome Letters intercepted from the Queen to the King, with Blanks to be Signed by the King, Authorizing the Queen to engage *Ireland* to the Queen Regent for ſome Aids: If any ſuch there be, it is very unlucky, not only for the ill uſe may be made of it here, but as it may be reſented by my Lord of *Ormond*, who having committed

to

to him the management of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and having diſcharged that Truſt ſo faithfully and prudently, may think himſelf injured in ſuch Negotiations by the by. God keep you, and fail not to love him who is intirely

Yours.

Bridgenorth,
Aug. 9.

The Lord Jermin *to the Lord* George Digby. St. Germain, *Aug.* 25.

WE have received nothing this Week from you, but find by other Advertiſements the King is ſtill in *Wales* recruiting his Army: I ſee no danger of periſhing before the Winter comes in to our Relief, at leaſt, if our own Party be not totally forſaken of their Hearts and Hands; For if there remain among them either Underſtanding or Courage, they will perceive how ill a Bargain they muſt make with their Enemies at this time, if they fall into their Hands by any way whatſoever. I am now moſt confident if we hold out till next Spring, betwixt this and that we ſhall find powerful Succors. The deſign of——of which I have often written to you, may now in my Judgment be reckoned upon, for we have the Mony ready, the Perſons of the ſame Mind, and all the Difficulties raiſed that be in the way, and the Buſineſs in as good advance as was poſſible; ſince we got the Mony, there is a good reaſon to expect that within two Months (they are promiſed ſooner) we ſhall have———. This in it ſelf may prove a great thing, but it is conſidered how it looks upon the con-

condition of our Affairs, that are very unlike to *receive* new Life but by a Foreign Aſſiſtance, which reaſonably is not to be hoped without ſecuring their paſſage; nothing ſure can appear ſo neceſſary for us, therefore pray take great care that there be no delay in the diſpatch of all Things belonging to it, when there ſhall be recourſe to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more Particulars of this Buſineſs, both in what Eſtate it is, and how it hath been retarded; but Weekly now you ſhall be advertiſed. I hear there is ſome ſtop in the Treaty between *Denmark* and the *Swedes*, ſo that I fear will fruſtrate *Cockeram*'s Negotiation, of which elſe I ſhould hope very well. The Arms that went from hence to the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, are arrived at *Hamborough*, and I hope are re-imbarked from thence; *Cockeram* would have them go that way: We have no News yet of thoſe ſent to him from *Holland*; what we are to expect from * hence as towards a conſiderable Succour (I mean of a Body of Men) is to be attended until the end of their Campaign; for I confeſs I am ſo far abuſed in the Buſineſs, as to believe it is equally hard to ſay we ſhall obtain no ſuch thing, as to aſſure it now; for without doubt there is no deſire here to ſee the Monarchy of *England* devolve into another Government, and there is as little doubt that there are ſtrong Inclinations for the Perſons of the King and Queen, and deſire to contribute to their re-eſtabliſhment; yet the humbling of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the beating them during the War, or making a glorious Peace, I confeſs are Paſſions that prevail more; and it is no wonder: In the mean time we receive great Curteſies. The Queen is moſt civilly and kindly uſed in all; her Penſion duly paid; 12000 Piſtols they gave lately for the Arms for the Marqueſs *Montroſs*, and the Powder ſhould be ſent into

* *France*.

into the Weſt; 10000 more they have now given for the Ships, which deſign is infinitely approved by them; and I doubt not but they will give the other 10000, that the ſetting them forth will come to; if they ſhould fail, it will be otherwiſe provided. The Queen of *England* hath given us a ſharp Alarm of another Diſtemper like her laſt, but the Fear is vaniſhed almoſt after three Fits, but being young in apprehenſion of the third, ſhe dares not write her ſelf. I am entirely yours.

Pray ſend me Word whether the Barony paſſed to Mr. *Hemflet* be an Engliſh Barony, and to deſcend upon his Son by my Lady *Stanhop*; if not, you are to move the King for the Barony of *Wotton* for that Son: This is a Buſineſs in which the Queen was engaged in *Holland*, upon the important Services ſhe received from *Hemflet*, and ſhe will be very earneſt with the King to have done. Pray ſend an Anſwer to this.

Let the Buſineſs of the Fleet be kept with all ſecrecy.

To

To the Honourable William Lenthal, *Esq*; *Speaker of the Honourable House of* COMMONS.

SIR,

THESE incloſed Letters being brought to my Hands by Divine Providence, I held it my Duty to ſpeed to you, becauſe of the great Importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

Having ſome Dragoons at *Padſtow*, a Packet-boat from *Ireland* came into the Harbour; The Dragoons preſently endeavoured to board her, and after ſome ſmall Reſiſtance, wherein the Captain and the Maſter of the Veſſel were ſlain, they entred, ſeizing upon Captain *Allen*; the ſaid *Allen* threw a Packet and divers looſe Letters over-board, of which, only theſe incloſed were recovered: I ſhall ſend *Allen* with all convenient ſpeed up to you, whoſe Examination you have alſo herewith incloſed: I find him to be a dangerous and ſubtle Man; I believe he hath much in his Breaſt which may be got out of him, by reaſon he is obnoxious as a Spy, and a Man I perceive loves his Life ſo well, that good uſe may be made thereof, to diſcover by further Examination what we have not an opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your Knowledge: For it appears by ſome of the Letters, that he hath much intruſted by the Earl of *Glamorgan* to him, to give a verbal Accompt of: I have given Captain *Moulton*, who is upon the Iriſh Seas, Advertiſement of the Enemies

mies Intentions. To ſay no more, you will perceive by the Date of the Earl of *Glamorgan*'s Letters, That he hath the Honour, Truſt and Liberty of a very good and loyal Subject. I ſuppoſe you will ſee by theſe Letters, what reaſon there is to haſten Recruits with effect, which I muſt withal repreſent to be the more needful, in regard of the Diminution which cannot but attend theſe Marches; and that Hardſhip the Army hath been put to in ſuch a Country and at ſuch a Seaſon. I muſt acknowledge your Proviſions for this Army to be very great, and the Committee of the Armies care, in obſerving your Appointments therein to be anſwerable. I deſire I may faithfully improve your Favours, as becomes an honeſt Man, to the Glory of God, and your Service: And reſt

Your moſt humble Servant,

T. Fairfax.

Bodmyn, March 7, 1645.

To

To the Honourable William Lenthal, *Esquire*, *Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.*

SIR,

IN my last, which was but yesterday by the Post, I gave you an Account of the Agreement made for the delivery up of *Mount-Edgecomb*, and the disbanding of the Regiments raised in those Parts, and of the coming of Mr. *Coriton* and divers other Gentlemen of Quality, which is every day more apparent than other, by their hourly sending to the General to be received into the Protection of the Parliament, which is now in some measure made known to the Country, who had this day a meeting upon *Bodman*-Downs: It was but yesterday they had notice, and one Hundred of the four had not the Notice come to them, yet about eight hundred or nine hundred appeared; And now for the occasion the meeting was desired, which was for this purpose, to let them know the Army was come to protect them, not to ruin them; That the Soldiers Horse and Foot had charge to defray their Quarters; That if any Soldier offered violence unto them, upon Complaint it should be redressed; That the Gentlemen of the Country, naming such and such Persons, were come in to the Parliament, which did very much incourage the Commonalty to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the Service of the Publick, and Defence of their own County: And that which wrought the Impression deepest upon their Hearts, was Mr. *P.* his publishing to them the Packets taken in the *Irish* Vessel, which I mentioned unto you in the last Letter, which he not only shewed unto them,

but read the ſame, and permitted ſuch of them as deſired it to read them, and told them they ſhould have Copies of *Glamorgan*'s Articles, and his other Letters, if they deſired them, which abundantly gave them Satisfaction; and that which put it out of doubt was, That the Ship and Packets were ſeized on, and taken by the aſſiſtance of the Inhabitants at *Padſtow* within their own County but the day before: And indeed it was a very ſeaſonable and remarkable Accident as could have happned for the Uniting of this County to the Parliament, for the very Thoughts of *Iriſh* and *French* are hateful unto them: Thoſe Letters that were moſt conſiderable miſcarried in the Water; which was the Earl of *Glamorgan*'s to the Prince, Sir *Edward Hyde*, and to another, which Capt. *Allen*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt and Merchant of *Waterford* confeſſeth he had from the Hands of the Earl of *Glamorgan* to deliver as aforeſaid: Upon his Examination he ſaid further, That the three hundred *Iriſh* deſired for the Prince's Life-guard were to be thus diſpoſed, an hundred to be put into the Mount, an hundred to *Pendennis*, and the other hundred to be a Guard to the Prince. The General hath ſent Poſt to Capt. *Moulton* Admiral of the *Iriſh* Coaſts, to give him notice in what forwardneſs the *Iriſh* were to be tranſported, that they may keep out Ships at Sea for prevention: The Trumpet that went with the Summons to the Lord *Hopton* is not yet returned. To morrow early the whole Army Horſe and Foot advances towards *Truro:* All Paſſes, By-lanes and Fords being for the moſt part barricadoed or blockt up; ſo that if the Enemy ſhould ſlip by (which we no ways fear) their Marches will be ſo ſlow, that their Rear will be ingaged before they get half through the Paſſage. Before this come to your Hands, without peradventure the Buſineſs will be very

very near decided by a Treaty or retreat into the Sea: There came ſeven or eight of the Prince's Servants this day for Paſſes to go home, much lamenting the ſudden carrying the Prince on Shipboard when they dreamed not of it: At *Foy* we took thirteen pieces of Ordnance mounted, beſides Arms and Powder; the firſt Night the Town ſtood upon their Guard, but the next Morning repented of their Folly, and without diſpute admitted our Forces to come in. Be pleaſed to haſten down Monies to the Army, and Match and Powder with all ſpeed to *Lime:* Neither of theſe will admit of delay: And haſten Recruits that they may meet us when we face about.

Bodman, March 6.
11 at night.

Your moſt humble and faithful Servant,

John Ruſhworth.

The Examination of Allen *is ſent up by this Bearer, who can inform you more of the Carriage of the Man: I hope the Bearer will come ſafe with the Letters; he is enjoyned to have great care; he comes far with ſuch a Truſt.*

The Treaty concluded with the Iriſh Rebels by the Earl of Glamorgan.

WHereas much time hath been ſpent in Meetings and Debates betwixt his Excellency *James* Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant and General Governor of his Majeſty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, Commiſſioner to his moſt excellent Majeſty, *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. for the Treating and Concluding of a Peace in the ſaid Kingdom with his Majeſty's humble and loyal Subjects, the Confederate and *Roman* Catholicks of the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland* of the one part; and the Right Honourable *Donogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, and other Commiſſioners Deputed and Authorized by the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of the other part; and thereupon many Difficulties did ariſe, by occaſion whereof ſundry Matters of great Weight and Conſequence neceſſarily requiſite to be condeſcended unto by his Majeſty's ſaid Commiſſioners, for the ſafety of the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholicks, were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the Concluſion of a firm Peace and Settlement in the ſaid Kingdom. And whereas the Right Hononourable *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan* is intruſted and Authorized by his moſt Excellent Majeſty, to grant and aſſure to the ſaid Confederate Catholick Subjects further Grace and Favours, which the ſaid Lord Lieutenant did not as yet in that Latitude as they expected grant unto them; and the ſaid Earl having ſeriouſly conſidered of all Matters and due Circumſtances of the great Affairs now in agitation, which

which is the Peace and Quiet of the ſaid Kingdom, and the Importance thereof, in order to his Majeſty's Service, and in relation to a Peace and Settlement in his other Kingdoms; and here upon the Place having ſeen the ardent deſire of the ſaid Catholicks to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt all that do or ſhall oppreſs his Royal Right or Monarchick Government; and having diſcerned the Alacrity and Chearfulneſs of the ſaid Catholicks to embrace Honourable Conditions of Peace, which may preſerve their Religion and other juſt Intereſts. In purſuance therefore of his Majeſty's Authority under his Highneſs's Signature Royal and Signet, bearing Date at *Oxon.* the 12th day of *March* in the Twentieth Year of his Reign, granted unto the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, the Tenor whereof is as followeth, *viz. Charles* Rex. *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our Truſty and right Well-beloved Couſin *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan*, greeting: We repoſing great and eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your approved Wiſdom and Fidelity, Do by theſe (as firmly as under our Great Seal to all Intents and Purpoſes) Authorize and give you Power to Treat and conclude with the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks in our Kingdom of *Ireland*, if upon neceſſity any thing be to be condeſcended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot ſo well be ſeen in, as not fit for us at the preſent publickly to own; Therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our Warrant with all poſſible Secrecy, and for whatſoever you ſhall engage your ſelf upon ſuch valuable Conſiderations, as you in your Judgment ſhall deem fit; We promiſe in the Word of a King and a Chriſtian, to ratifie and perform the ſame that ſhall be granted by you and under your Hand and

Seal; the ſaid Confederate Catholicks having by their Supplies teſtified their Zeal to our Service; and this ſhall be in each particular to you a ſufficient Warrant. Given at our Court at *Oxford* under our Signet and Royal Signature the 12th day of *March*, in the Twentieth Year of our Reign, 1644. To our right Truſty and right Well-beloved Couſin *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan*. It is therefore granted, accorded and agreed, by and between the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, for and on the behalf of his moſt excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors on the one part; and the Right Honourable *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, Lord Preſident of the Supream Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, the ſaid *Donogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, Eſq; Sir *Talbot Barronet*, *Dermot O Brien*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Geffery Brown*, Eſq; Commiſſioners in that Behalf appointed by the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, for and in the Behalf of the ſaid Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of the other part, in manner and form following; (that is to ſay)

1. *Imprimis*,

1. IT is granted, accorded and agreed by the the ſaid Earl, for and in the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That all and every the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, of whatever Eſtate, Degree or Quality ſoever he or they be or ſhall be, ſhall for evermore hereafter have and enjoy within the ſaid Kingdom, the free and publick Uſe and Exerciſe of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, and of the reſpective Functions therein.

2. *Item*, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and on the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That the ſaid Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, ſhall hold and enjoy all and every the Churches by them enjoyed within this Kingdom, or by them poſſeſſed at any time ſince the 23d of *October* 1641. and all other Churches in the ſaid Kingdom, other than ſuch as are now actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects.

3. *Item*, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That all and every the *Roman* Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, of what Eſtate, Condition, Degree or Quality ſoever, ſhall be free and exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Proteſtant Clergy, and every of them; and that the *Roman* Catholick Clergy of this Kingdom ſhall not be puniſhed, troubled or moleſted for the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction over their reſpective Catholick Flocks, in Matters Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical.

4. *Item*, It is further granted, accorded and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and on the Behalf of his moſt excellent Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſ-

ſors, That an Act ſhall be paſſed in the next Parliament to be holden in this Kingdom, the Tenor and Purport whereof ſhall be as followeth, *viz.* An Act for the Relief of his Majeſty's Catholick Subjects of his Highneſs's Kingdom of *Ireland*: Whereas by an Act made in Parliament held in *Dublin* the ſecond year of the Reign of the late Queen *Eliz.* Intituled, *An Act reſtoring to the Crown the ancient Juriſdiction over the State Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual, and aboliſhing all Foreign Power repugnant to the ſame*; And by one other Statute made in the ſaid laſt mentioned Parliament, Intituled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament*, ſundry Mulcts, Penalties, Reſtraints and Incapacities, are and have been laid upon the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, in, for and concerning the Uſe, Profeſſion and Exerciſe of their Religion and their Functions therein, to the great Prejudice, Trouble and Diſquiet of the *Roman* Catholicks in their Liberties and Eſtates, and the general diſturbance of the whole KINGDOM. For Remedy whereof, and for the better ſetling, increaſe and continuance of the Peace, Unity and Tranquility of this Kingdom of *Ireland*; his Majeſty, at the humble Suit and Requeſt of the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, is graciouſly pleaſed that it may be Enacted, And be it Enacted by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That from and after the firſt day of this Seſſion of Parliament, it ſhall and may be lawful to and for all the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, of what Degree, Condition or Quality ſoever, to have, uſe and enjoy the free and publick Exer-

ciſe

ciſe and Profeſſion of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, and of their ſeveral and reſpective Functions therein, without incurring any Mulct or Penalty whatſoever, or being ſubject to any reſtraint or incapacity concerning the ſame; Any Article or Clauſe, Sentence or Proviſion in the ſaid laſt mentioned Acts of Parliament, or in any other Act or Acts of Parliament, Ordinances, Law or Uſage to the contrary, or in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And be it alſo further Enacted, That neither the ſaid Statutes, or any other Statute, Acts or Ordinance hereafter made in your Majeſty's Reign, or in the Reign of any of your Highneſſes moſt Noble Progenitors or Anceſtors, and now of force in this Kingdom; nor all, nor any Branch, Article, Clauſe and Sentence in them or any of them, contained or ſpecified, ſhall be of force or validity in this Realm, to extend to be conſtrued, or adjudged to extend in any wiſe to inquiet, prejudice, vex or moleſt the Profeſſors of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion, in their Perſons, Lands, Hereditaments or Goods, for any Thing, Matter or Cauſe whatſoever, touching and concerning the free and publick uſe, exerciſe and enjoyings of their ſaid Religion, Function and Profeſſion. And be it alſo further Enacted and Declared by the Authority aforeſaid, That your Majeſty's *Roman* Catholick Subjects in the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, from the firſt day of this Seſſion of Parliament, ſhall be, and be taken, deemed and adjudged capable of all Offices of Truſt and Advancement, Places, Degrees and Dignities, and Preferment whatſoever within your ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, any Acts, Statutes, Uſage or Law to the contrary notwithſtanding. And that other Acts ſhall be paſſed in the ſaid Parliament, according to the Tenor of ſuch Agreement or Conceſſions as herein are expreſſed;

and

and that in the mean time the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Subjects, and every of them, ſhall enjoy the full Benefit, Freedom and Advantage of the ſaid Agreements and Conceſſions, and of every of them.

5. *Item*, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the ſaid Earl, for and in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, That his Excellency the Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in their preſent poſſeſſion and continuance of the Profeſſion of their ſaid Churches Juriſdiction, or any other the Matters aforeſaid in theſe Articles agreed and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl, until his Majeſty's Pleaſure be ſignified for confirming and publiſhing the Grants and Agreements hereby articled for, and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl.

6. *Item*, And the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* doth hereby engage his Majeſty's Royal Word and publick Faith unto all and ſingular the Profeſſors of the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Religion within the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, for the due obſervance and performance of all and every the Articles, Grants and Clauſes therein contained, and the Conceſſions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

7. *Item*, It is accorded and agreed, That the ſaid Publick Faith of the Kingdom ſhall be engaged unto the ſaid Earl, by the ſaid Commiſſioners of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, for ſending Ten thouſand Men to ſerve his Majeſty, by Order and Publick Declaration of the General Aſſembly now ſitting; And that the Supreme Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks ſhall engage themſelves to bring the ſaid number of Men Armed, the one half with Muskets, and the other half with Pikes,

unto

unto any Port within this Realm, at the Election of the ſaid Earl, and at ſuch time as he ſhall appoint, to be by him ſhipped and tranſported to ſerve his Majeſty in *England*, *Wales* or *Scotland*, under the Command of the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* as Lord General of the ſaid Army, which Army is to be kept together in one intire Body; and all other the Officers and Commanders of the ſaid Army are to be named by the Supreme Council of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, or by ſuch others as the General Aſſembly of the ſaid Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdoms ſhall intruſt therewith: In witneſs whereof, the Parties to theſe Preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands and Seals the 25th day of *Auguſt*, 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the Preſence of *John Somerſet*, *Jeffery Barron*, *Robert Barry*.

Copia vera Collata fideliter cum Originali: Thomas Caſhel, Franc. Patricius, Waterford & Liſmore.

This is a true Copy of the Original found in the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*'s Carriage; compared by us, *Arthur Anneſley*, *Rob. King*.

Articles

Articles of Agreement made and concluded upon by and between the Right Honourable Edward *Earl of* Glamorgan, *in purſuance, and by vertue of his Majeſty's Authority under his Signet and Royal Signature, bearing Date at* Oxford *the twelfth day of* March *in the twentieth year of his Reign, for and on the Behalf of his moſt Excellent Majeſty of the one part; and the Right Honourable* Richard *Lord Viſcount* Mountgarret, *Lord Preſident of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks of* Ireland, Donnogh *Lord Viſcount* Muſkerry, Alex. *Mac* Donnel *and* Nicholas Plunket, *Eſquires, Sir* Robert Talbot *Baronet,* Dermot O Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy *and* Jeffery Brown, *Eſquires, for and on the Behalf of his Majeſty's* Roman *Catholick Subjects, and the Cathlick Clergy of* Ireland, *of the other part.*

IMprimis, The ſaid Earl doth grant, conclude and agree, on the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to and with the ſaid *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, *Donnogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Alex.* Mac *Donnel*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, Eſquires; Sir *Robert Talbot* Baronet, *Dermot O Brien*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Jeffery Brown*, Eſquires: That the *Roman* Catholick Clergy of the ſaid Kingdom ſhall and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every ſuch Lands, Tenements, Tithes, and Hereditaments whatſoever by them reſpectively enjoyed within this Kingdom, or

er by them poſſeſſed at any time ſince the Three and twentieth of *October*, One thouſand ſix hundred forty one: And all other ſuch Lands, Tenements, Tithes, and Hereditaments belonging to the Clergy within this Kingdom, other than ſuch as are actually enjoyed by his Majeſty's Proteſtant Clergy.

Item, It is granted, concluded and agreed on by the ſaid *Richard* Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, *Donogh* Lord Viſcount *Muskerry*, *Alex.* Mac *Donnel*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Dermot O Brien*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Jeffery Brown*, on the Behalf of the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, that two parts in three parts to be divided of all the ſaid Lands, Tythes, and Hereditaments whatſoever, mentioned in the precedent Article, ſhall for three years next enſuing the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord God 1646. be diſpoſed of and converted for and to the uſe of his Majeſty's Forces, employed or to be employed in his Service, and the other third part to the uſe of the ſaid Clergy reſpectively, and ſo the like diſpoſition to be renewed from three years to three years, by the ſaid Clergy during the Wars.

Item, It is accorded and agreed by the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan*, for and in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, that his Excellency the Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majeſty, ſhall not diſturb the Profeſſors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in their preſent poſſeſſion and continuance of the poſſeſſion of their Churches, Lands, Tenements, Tythes, Hereditaments, Juriſdiction, or any other the Matters aforeſaid in theſe Articles agreed and condeſcended to by the ſaid Earl, until his Majeſty's Pleaſure be ſignified for confirming and publiſhing the Grants herein

herein articled for and condeſcended unto by the ſaid Earl.

Item, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the ſaid Earl for and in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, that an Act ſhall be paſſed in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, according to the Tenor of ſuch Agreements or Conceſſions as herein are expreſſed, and that in the mean time the ſaid Clergy ſhall enjoy the full Benefit, Freedom and Advantage of the ſaid Agreements and Conceſſions and every of them.

And the ſaid Earl of *Glamorgan* doth hereby engage his Majeſty's Royal Word and Publick Faith unto the ſaid Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, and the reſt of the ſaid Commiſſioners, for the due obſervation and performance of all and every the Articles, Agreements and Conceſſions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the ſaid *Roman* Catholick Clergy and every of them. In witneſs whereof, the Parties to theſe Preſents have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands and Seals the 25th day of *Auguſt*, *Anno Dom.* 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the preſence of *John Sommerſet*, *Jeffery Barron*, *Rob. Barry.*

Whereas

Whereas in theſe Articles touching the Clergy Livings, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Glamorgan* is obliged in his Majeſty's Behalf to ſecure the Conceſſions in theſe Articles by Act of Parliament: We holding that manner of ſecuring thoſe Grants as to the Clergy Livings to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majeſty, than by doing thereof, and ſecuring thoſe Conceſſions otherwiſe as to the ſaid Livings, the ſaid Earl undertaking and promiſing in the Behalf of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, as hereby he doth undertake to ſettle the ſaid Conceſſions, and ſecure them to the Clergy, and their reſpective Succeſſors, in another ſecure way, other than by Parliament at preſent, till a fit opportunity be offered for ſecuring the ſame, do agree and condeſcend thereunto. And this Inſtrument by his Lordſhip ſigned, was before the perfecting thereof intended to that purpoſe, as to the ſaid Livings, to which purpoſe We have mutually ſigned this Endorſement. And it is further intended, that the Catholick Clergy ſhall not be interrupted by Parliament, or otherwiſe, as to the ſaid Livings, contrary to the meaning of theſe Articles.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum Originali, Thomas Caſhel, Fra. Patricius, Waterford & Liſmore.

This is a true Copy of the Original found in the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*'s Carriage, compared by us, *Arthur Anneſly*, *Rob. King*.

I Edward *Earl of* Glamorgan *do protest and ſwear faithfully to acquaint the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty with the Proceedings of this Kingdom, in order to his Service, and to the Indearment of this Nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authorized by his Majeſty) obliged my ſelf to ſee perjormed, and in default, not to permit the Army intruſted into my Charge to adventure it ſelf, or any conſiderable part thereof, until Conditions from his Majeſty, and by his Majeſty be performed,*

Sept. 3. 1645. *GLAMORGAN.*

Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fideliter cum Origen. Tho. Caſhel.

This is a true Copy of the Original found in the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*'s Carriage, compared by us, *Arthur Anneſley*, *Rob. King.*

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An INDEX of the Principal Matters contained in the First Volume.

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King's Party, *ib.* ſent again into *Ireland*, 534. accompanied with his Wife and Family, *ib.* careſſed on the Road by the Cavalier Party, *ib.* arrives in *Dublin*-Bay, *ib.* calls a Council of Officers, 643. propoſes to them to aſſiſt *R. Cromwell*, ib. they decline it, *ib.* required to come over into *England*, 666. and to give an account of Affairs in *Ireland*, ib. he retires to the *Phœnix*-Houſe, 677. departs for *London*, 687.

Cromwell (*Rich.*) proclaimed Protector, 613 his imprudent and irreligious Expreſſions. 663. ſtartled at the Proceedings of the Council of Officers, 638. voted general of the Army, *ib.* diſperſes the Officers, 639. ſends for Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, ib. he appointed a Rendezvous at *Whitehal*, 640. moſt part of the Officers repair to St. *James*'s, ib. he's left deſtitute of an Army, *ib* perſwaded to diſſolve his Parliament, 641. ordered to remove from *Whitehal*, 656 & 664. required to give a poſitive Anſwer about that Matter, 664. he ſubmits to the Parliament, 665. receives a Gratuity of 2000 l. *ib.*

Cromwell (*Oliver*) his Deſigns ſuſpected by many, 447. forms the Army to his humor, *ib.* gets an Act of Oblivion paſſed, *ib.* aſperſes the Parliament, 449. his crafty and hypocritical Practices, 449, 450 & *ſequ.* his Demeanour in the Parliament-Houſe, 455 & *ſequ.* his Speech there, 456. he turns out all the Members, 458. ſeizes on the Records, *ib.* commands the Doors to be locked up, *ib.* goes to *Whitehal*, ib. diſperſes the Council of State, 461. appoints a Meeting of the Army-Officers, 462. his Harangue to his new Convention, 463. takes upon him the Office as it were of a High-Conſtable, 471. and the Title of Protector, 479. the firſt Perſons nominated to be of his Council, *ib.* he allots 1000 l. a Year to each of them, *ib.* eſtabliſhes a Commiſſion for viewing all the Foreſts and Royal Demeans, *ib.* the Ceremonies at his Inauguration, 480 & 481. takes a certain Oath, 480. proclaimed *Protector of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, 481. proclaimed likewiſe in *Ireland*, 483. makes Peace with the Dutch, 487. the Articles of that Peace, *ib.* his Caſh in the Treaſuries of *England* and *Ireland*, 488. Removes from the Cock pit to *Whitehal*, ib. his Expences at his Mother's Funeral, 489. he directs the Judges to favour the Cavalier-party, *ib.* reſtores Colonel *Grace* to his Eſtate, *ib.* ſummons Major General *Harriſon* and others to the Council, *ib.* takes away their Commiſſions, *ib.* ſends his Son *Henry* into *Ireland*, 490. invited by the City to Dinner, 492. his Cavalcade there, 493. harangued by the Recorder, *ib.* confers Knight-hood upon *Thomas Viner* Mayor, *ib.* reſolves upon a Foreign Expedition,

dition, *ib.* his demands of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, 494. the Ambaſſadors Reply, *ib.* he iſſues out Warrants for the Election of a Parliament, 497. ſends Letters to *Scotland* and *Ireland* for that purpoſe, *ib.* his Speech in the Painted Chamber, 499. he cauſes ſeveral Members to be excluded, *ib.* and a Guard to be ſet upon the Door of the Houſe, 500. requires their Attendance in the Painted Chamber, *ib.* his Declaration to them, *ib.* & 501. declared Protector during his Life, 502. Conſtitutes Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* Deputy of *Ireland*, 503. entruſts General *Monk* with the Command of the Scotch Forces, 504. takes upon him to drive a Coach in the Park, 508. thrown out of the Box, *ib.* his Piſtol fired in his Pocket with the Fall, *ib.* his Charge againſt the Parliament, 510 & 511. he diſſolves them, 512. ſeizes on a Tenth Part of the Cavaliers Eſtates, 519. divides *England* into Cantons for that purpoſe, *ib.* places a Major General in each of them, *ib.* tranſports whole droves of thoſe that oppos'd his Intereſt, 533. enters into an Alliance with the French, 558. they are obliged to Baniſh the Sons of the late King, *ib.* & 559. ſends Forces to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, 560, 561. cauſes divers Places in *Scotland* to be fortified, 562. attempts the Succeſſion of his Family to the Crown, 567. and to make himſelf King, *ib.* calls a Parliament for that purpoſe, *ib.* ſcruples to take upon him that Title, 585. the Reaſons offered to him for accepting of it, *ib.* he rejects them, 586. his Conference with Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* and Colonel *Deſborough*, ib. & 587. requires the attendance of the Houſe in the Painted Chamber, *ib.* puts off their Meeting, 588. appoints them to meet at *Whitehal*, 591. peremtorily refuſes the Title of King, *ib.* accepts of that of Protector, 592. the ſolemnity at his Inveſtiture, *ib.* forms a new Houſe of Lords, 595. diſſolves both Houſes, 599. diſcovers a Plot carried on by the Royaliſts, 605. refers their Tryal to the High Court of Juſtice, *ib.* grows melancholy, 609. diſtempered with divers Infirmities, *ib.* falls deſperately ſick, *ib.* importuned to nominate his Succeſſor, 611. his demeanour at the point of death, 612. the purport of his laſt Words, *ib.* the time of his death, *ib.* the different Effects of it, *ib.* & *ſequ.* his Body laid in *Somerſet* Houſe, 614. the Magnificence of that State, *ib.* repreſented in *Effigie*, ib. & 615. dirt thrown on his Eſcucheon, 615.

Crook (Major *Unton*) defeats a Party of Cavaliers, 516. ordered to have 200 l. a Year for his good Service, 518.

D.

Darbyshire, an Insurrection in those Parts dispersed, 686.
Day (Cornet) charged with calling *Cromwell* Rogue and Traytor, 605. confesses the Words, *ib.* offers to produce Witnesses against the Protector, *ib.* fined and imprisoned, *ib.*
Dean (Admiral) killed in a Sea-fight with the Dutch, 467.
Denby (Serjeant) takes Lieutenant General *Ludlow* into Custody, 574.
Denmark (King of) promises to assist the Dutch, 438.
Desborough (Major General) constituted one of the chief Commanders of the Fleet, 470. and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 479. his Conference with Colonel *Pride*, 587 & 588. delivers a Petition from the Officers to the House, 589. joined in Commission with Admiral *Blake*, 603. he perswades *Richard Cromwell* to dissolve his Parliament, 641. made one of both the Committees of Safety, 652 & 715. and a Member of the Council of State, 656.
Doily (Colonel) Commander of the Forces in *Jamaica*, 533. gets a Subsistence by Planting, *ib.*
Downs (Colonel) a Member of the Council of State, 656.
Drummond (Major General) his Conduct at the Siege of *Dunkirk*, 561.
Duckenfield (Lieutenant Colonel) receives a Gratuity of 2000 l. 700. stops the Speaker in his Coach, 725, 726.
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Dunkirk besieged, 560. surrendred to the French, 562. afterwards delivered up to the English, *ib.* Colonel *Lockhart* entrusted with the Government of it, 671. ordered to be fortified, *ib.*
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E.

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F.

Fairfax (*Thomas* Lord) chosen one of the Council of State, 656.
Fifth-Monarchy-Men; plot to dethrone *Oliver Cromwell*, 604. the principal of them seized, *ib.* their Standard taken, *ib.* sent Prisoners to the *Gatehouse*, ib.
Fitz (Colonel) Lieutenant of the *Tower*, seized by Colonel *Desborough*, 763.
Fitz-Patrick (Colonel) his Mother accused of committing Murder, 436. found Guilty and condemned to be burnt, 443. executed accordingly, *ib.*

Fleetwood (Lieutenant General) arrives at *Dublin*, 440. cauſes *Oliver Cromwell* to be proclaimed Protector in *Ireland*, 482 & 483. holds a private Junćto for the choice of Parliament-Men, 498. made Deputy of *Ireland*, 503. departs thence for *England*, 539. retires to St. *James's*, 639. choſen one of the Committee of Safety, 651. and one of the Council of State, 656. made Commander in Chief, 660. receives three Commiſſions from the Speaker, 664. made Ranger of St. *James's* Park, 673. nominated one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715. his Conſults at *Wallingford*-Houſe, 716 & *ſequ.* he ſends the Keys of the Houſe to the Speaker. 807.

Forces; thoſe about Town muſtered in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, 807. declare for the Parliament, *ib.* march by the Speaker's Houſe, *ib.* ſalute him as their General, *ib.*

Form of Government; a new one preſented to the Houſe, 583. by whom oppoſed, *ib.* & 584. debated and confirmed, 584.

Forteſcue (Colonel) made Governour of *Jamaica*, 532. his death, 533.

Fotherby (Colonel) refuſes to act for the Parliament, 688.

Fountain (Serjeant) made one of the Commiſſioners of the Broad Seal, 667, 668.

G.

Gerard (Sir *Gilbert*) ſummoned to *Cromwell's* Houſe of Lords, 595. brings an Action againſt Colonel *Alured*, 842. choſen one of the new Council of State, 850.

Gladman (Captain) Commander of *Cromwell's* Troop, 599. diſcharged from his Office, 600. reſtored by the Council of Officers, 642.

Goodwin (Dr.) *Cromwell's* Trencher-Chaplain, 609, 610. an Expreſſion in his Prayer during his Sickneſs, 610.

Grace (Colonel) reſtored to his Eſtate, 489.

Greenvill (Sir *John*) carries the King's Letters to the Parliament, 878.

Grey (Lord) of *Grooby* ſent Priſoner to *Windſor*-Caſtle, 530. ſues for a *Habeas Corpus*, ib. granted him by the Chief Juſtice, *ib* rejected by the Governour of the Caſtle, *ib.* obtains his Liberty upon a Pecuniary Security, *ib.*

Grimeſtone (Sir *Harbottle*) a Member of the new Council of State, 850.

Grove (Captain *Hugh*) engaged in a Cavalier-plot, 516. taken Priſoner, 517. beheaded, 518.

Gumble (*Thomas*) Chaplain to General *Monk*, 809. diſpatched with Letters to the Parliament, *ib.*

H.

Hacket (Colonel *Francis*) receives a Commiſſion from the Speaker, 664.
Hains (Major General) killed in a Fight, 496.
Hampton-Court ordered to be ſold, 678. the Sale of it prevented, *ib.*
Harlow (Major) one of the ſecluded Members, 841. his bold Saying in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, 841.
Harrington (Sir *James*) choſen one of the Council of State, 657. and of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
Harriſon (Major General) carries on the deſign of *Oliver Cromwell*, 450 & 454. forces the Speaker in Parliament to leave the Chair, 457. ſummoned before the Council, 489. upbraided by *Cromwell*, ib. ſent Priſoner to *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, 489. removed to his Houſe at *Highgate*, 563. his Conference with Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, ib. & 564, 565, 566.
Haſlerig (Sir *Arthur*) choſen a Member of *Oliver Cromwell*'s Parliament, 498. excluded from ſitting, 579. ſummoned to the new Houſe of Lords, 595. comes privately to *London*, 597. takes his Place in the Houſe of Commons, *ib.* choſen again under *Richard Cromwell*, 618. made one of the Committee of Safety, 651. obtains Colonel *Howard*'s Regiment of Horſe, 654. choſen one of the Council of State, 656. his Character, 718. communicates the *Darby*-Petition to the Houſe, 719. moves that Colonel *Lambert* might be committed to the *Tower*, ib. retires to *Portſmouth*, 746. comes to *London*, 807. his extraordinary Tranſports, *ib.* & 808. his Declaration to adhere to a Common-wealth Government, 811 & 812. he cauſes it to be printed and publiſhed, 812. his Regiment of Horſe removed from *London*, 815. nominated one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament-Forces, 830. required to take his Place in the Houſe, 852. deſerted by General *Monk*, 866.
Hewet (Dr.) impriſoned for conſpiring againſt *Cromwell*, 605. the Charge exhibited againſt him, 606. brought before the High Court of Juſtice, *ib.* demurs to its Juriſdiction, *ib.* his demurrer over-ruled, *ib.* thrice arraigned, *ib.* condemned to death, 607. beheaded, *ib.*
Hewetſon (Colonel) his Arrears ordered to be paid, 513. choſen one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
Hiſpaniola; the fruitleſs Expedition againſt that Town, 495, 496.
Holland (Corn.) made one of the Committee of Safety, 715.
Holles (Mr. *Denzil*) a Member of the new Council, 850.
Holſtein (Duke of) makes a Preſent to *O. Cromwell*, 508.
Honywood (Sir *Thomas*) ſummoned to *Cromwell*'s Houſe of Lords, 595.

Honywood (Sir *Robert*) chosen one of the Council of State, 657. one of the Plenipotentiaries to *Holland*, 667.
Howard (Colonel *Philip*) made Commander of General *Monk*'s Guard, 848.
Hurst-Castle secured for the Parliament, 764.
Hutchinson (Colonel) a Member of the High Court of Justice, 822, 823. exceeded the rest in zeal for executing the King, *ib.* he presses the House to proceed against Sir *Henry Vane*, 823.

I.

James Duke of *York* assists the Spaniards at the Siege of *Dunkirk*, 561.
Jamaica; taken by Colonel *Venables*, 496. a Re-inforcement of 3000 Men sent thither, 557.
Jephson (Col. *Will.*) moves the House that *Cromwell* might be made King, 582. reproved by him upon that account, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* he obtains a Troop of Horse for himself, 583. and a Foot-Company for his Son, *ib.* sent Agent to *Sweden*, ibid.
Informations against the *Irish*, 436.
Ingoldsby (Col. *Rich.*) goes to *Ireland*, 642. consults with *Hen. Cromwell*, ib. much in favour with *Rich. Cromwell*, 633. obtains Col. *Rich*'s Regiment, 848 & 849. takes Major General *Lambert* Prisoner, 877.
Instrument of Government presented to the Council of Officers, 476. the Purport of it, 478. examined by the Parliament, 449 & 450. the Confirmation of it pressed, 580 & 581. many Objections made against it, 583. a new Form drawn up and presented, *ib.* debated and approved, 584. another new Instrument established, 593. a particular Clause therein, 611.
Jones (Mr.) of *Newton*, engaged in a Cavalier-Plot, 516. taken Prisoner, 517. condemned and pardoned, 518.
Jones (Colonel *John*) a Member of the Parliament-Committee of Safety, 651. and of the Council of State, 656. succeeds General *Ludlow* in the Command of the Forces in *Ireland*, 707. accused of High Treason, 806. the Particulars of his Charge, 817. summoned to the new Council of State, 867. obliged to sign an Engagement, 870.
Ireland, some Forces disbanded there, 464 & *sequ.*
Irish Brigade resolve not to engage against General *Monk*, 742. enter into an Association, *ib.*
Irish Officers, their Present to General *Monk*, 857.
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Ireton, Mayor of *London*: A Motion made to continue him another Year in that Office, 701. chosen one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.

K.

Kelſey (Colonel *Tho.*) invites General *Ludlow* to *Wallingford*-Houſe, 634. made one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, 653.
Kempſtone (Col.) Brother-in-Law to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, 546. Committed to Priſon, *ib.*
Kinnerſley (M.) Maſter of the Wardrobe, conſulted about *O. Cromwell*'s Funeral, 614. his Report as to that matter, *ib.*
Knightly (Mr.) choſen one of the new Council of State, 850.

L.

Lambert (Major General) preſents an *Inſtrument of Government* to the Council of Officers, 47. receives a Gratuity of 10000 l. 513. oppoſes *Cromwell*'s deſign to aſſume the Title of King, 588 & 593. refuſes to take an Oath to him, *ib.* ſurrenders his Commiſſion, *ib.* allowed a yearly Penſion of 2000 l. 594. reſtored to his Command by the Council of Officers, 642. admitted into both the Committees of Safety, 651 & 715. choſen one of the Council of State, 656. obtains a Regiment of Horſe and one of Foot, 670. exclaims againſt the Act of Indemnity, 676 & 677. commands the Forces ſent againſt Sir *George Booth*, 691. marches from *London*, 693. defeats the Enemy, 693. receives a Gratuity of 1000 l. 696. he makes an Attempt againſt the Parliament's Guards, 723. goes Poſt for *Newcaſtle*, 738. ordered to ſurrender himſelf at a ſet time, 827. appears before the new Council of State, 852. committed to the *Tower*, 853. makes his Eſcape thence, 873. appears at the Head of 1000 Horſe, 875. his Party diſpers'd, 876. taken Priſoner, *ib.* ſent to the *Tower* again, 877.
Lauderdale (Lord of) taken Priſoner at *Worceſter*-Fight, 857. ſet at Liberty, *ib.*
Lawſon (Reer Admiral) charges through the Dutch Fleet, 466. made Vice Admiral, 666. ſent to the Sound, *ib.* his Expreſſion with reſpect to General *Monk*'s Proceedings, 821.
Leith fortified. 562.
Lenthal (*Will.*) Speaker of the Long Parliament, 595. made Maſter of the Rolls, 596. ſummoned to *Cromwell*'s Houſe of Lords, *ib.* his Tranſports upon that Occaſion, *ib.* importuned to re-aſſume the Chair, 649. his frivolous Excuſes, *ib.* & 650. he goes to the Houſe, 651. ſtopped by Lieutenant Colonel *Duckenfield*, 725, 726. his Coachman forced to drive back, 726. the Keys of the Houſe ſent to him, 807. returns to the Exerciſe of his Office, *ib.* refuſes to ſign a Warrant to the Commiſſioners of the Seal, 842 & 843.
Lewes (Sir *William*) a Member of the new Council of State, 850.

Lilburn (Lieutenant-Colonel *John*) tryed and acquitted by a Jury, 533. baniſhed, *ib.*

Lockhart (Colonel) made Governour of *Dunkirk*, 671. ordered to fortifie that Place, *ib.* ſent Agent to *France*, ib. & 672. courted by the *Spaniards*, 697. returns to *England*, 765.

Lockyer (*Nicholas*) appointed to preach before *Oliver Cromwell*, 592.

Long (Colonel *Thomas*) left by *Henry Cromwell* in *Dublin*-Caſtle, 667. ſurrnders it to Sir *Hardreſs Walter*, ib. & 678.

London; the Mayor and Aldermen of that City required to attend at *Whitehall*, 480. they accompany *Oliver Cromwell* to *Weſtminſter*-Hall, *ib.* invite him to Dinner, 493. their Mayor Knighted, *ib.* the Aldermen and Common Council preſent a Paper to the Council of Officers, 772 & 773. they incite General *Monk* to call a free Parliament, 809. receive Petitions from the Counties, 823. encourage the Petitioners, *ib.* Vote that no Taxes be paid unleſs impoſed by a free Parliament, 824. the City Gates and Portcullices taken down, 824, 825. the Poſts and Chains pulled up, *ib.* ſome of the Common-Council ſeized, *ib.* they aſſemble by General *Monk's* Order, 840. the Companies make a great Entertainment for him, 855.

Love (*Nich.*) one of the King's Judges, 868.

Ludlow (General *Edmund*) receives a kind Meſſage from *Oliver Cromwell*, 476. obſtructs the Proclaiming of him in *Ireland*, 482. and of the Inſtrument of Government, 483. his Conference with the Commiſſioners of Parliament, 484. the Arguments uſed to perſwade him to continue his Service under *Cromwell*, ib. & 485. his anſwers to them, *ib.* he reſolves to retain his Office of Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, 486. entertains Colonel *Henry Cromwell*, 490. his Conference with him, *ib.* & 491, 492. acquaints him with his Reſolution, 491. diſperſes the Army's Petition to *Oliver Cromwell*, 520 & 521. queſtioned about that Matter, 521. required to ſurrender his Commiſſion, 523. his Diſcourſe with Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, ib. he asks the Judgment of ſome Officers, *ib.* the Reſult of that Conference, 524. his Anſwers to General *Fleetwood's* Demands, 525 & 526. required to give his Word to appear before *Cromwell*, 527. his Regiment disbanded, 531. required to ſtay in *Ireland*, 535. his Conferences with Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, ib. & 536. his Propoſals to him, 537. he obtains a Paſs-port for *England*, 539. writes a Letter to Col. *Hen. Cromwell*, 542. arrives at *Beaumaris*, ibid. detained there, *ibid.* ſends a Letter to Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*, 545. ordered to be kept in ſtrict Cuſtody, *ib.* ſigns an Engagement

ment for his Liberty, 549 & 550. ſets forward for *London*, 550 & 551. comes to *Weſtminſter*, 551. his Conference with *O. Cromwell*, 552, 553, 554 & 555. his Diſcourſe with Maj. Gen. *Lambert*, 555 & 556. with Maj. Gen. *Harriſon*, 563, 564, 565 & 566. with *Hugh Peters*, 566 & 567. ſummoned before the Council, 568. charged with diſperſing treaſonable Books, 569. and other Crimes, *ibid.* his Defence, *ibid.* & *ſequ.* his Diſcourſe with Mr. *Strickland*, 573 & 574. required to give 5000 l. ſecurity, 574. taken into Cuſtody by Serj. *Dendy*, ibid. retires into *Eſſex*, 575. ſets forward thence for *London*, 610. arrives at *Weſtminſter*, ib. ordered to attend Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, ib. his Diſcourſe with him, *ib.* choſen a Member of *Rich. Cromwell*'s Convention, 618 & 619. invited to *Wallingford*-Houſe, 634. his Conſultation with that Party, *ib.* his Diſcourſe with Col. *Sydenham*, 636. he gives a Liſt of the Members of the Long Parliament, 645. choſen one of the Committee of Safety, 651. obtains Col. *Gough*'s Regiment of Horſe, 654. 655, appointed one of the Council of State, 657. made Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, 668 & 669. prevents the Sale of *Hampton-Court*, 678. receives four Commiſſions from the Speaker, 679. ſets forward for *Ireland*, 681. arrives at the *Ring's End*, 682. his management of Affairs in *Ireland*, 696 & 697. appoints Col. *Jones* to Command the Forces in his Abſence, 703 & 707. Imbarks for *England*, 709. his Diſcourſe with Col. *Barrow*, 711. his Conference with the Officers of the *Iriſh* Brigade, 712 & 713. arrives at *London*, 716. his Conference with Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, ib. & 717. with ſome of the Officers at *Whitehall*, 729 & 730. with ſome of the Parliament-Party, 731 & 732. with Mr. *Lenthal* the Speaker, 732 & 733. his Diſcourſe in the Council of Officers, 754 & *ſequ.* his Propoſals to the Army, 766. his Remonſtrance to the Aldermen of *London*, 774 & 775. his arrival at *Bullock*-Bay, 786. his Letters to ſeveral Commanders of Garriſons, 789 & 795. diſpatches Letters for the Parliament, 793. Lands at *Duncannon*, 794. the Calumnies raiſed againſt him, 799 & 800. his Anſwer to a Libel, 800, 801 & 802. ordered to attend the Parliament, 802. ſets ſail for *England*, 804. accuſed of High Treaſon, 805. required to deliver *Duncannon*-Fort, 814. he reſolves to take his Place in Parliament, 815 & 816. goes to the Houſe accordingly, 817. the Heads of the Charge brought againſt him, 817, 818. he moves the Houſe for a Hearing, 818. goes to General *Monk*, 819. his Conference with him, 820 & 821. moves the Houſe again for a Hearing, 828. his Diſcourſe with Sir *Henry Vane*, 828. he gives General *Monk* another Viſit, 832. his Conference with

with him, 833, 834 & 835. he adviſes the Adjourning of the Parliament to the *Tower*, 841. preſſes a third time for a Hearing, 843 & 844. withdraws himſelf from the Houſe, 854. his Propoſals to ſome of the Common-wealth Party, 853, 854 & 855. he departs from *London*, 867. ſummoned to the new Council of State, *ib.* his Journies up and down the Countries, 868 & *ſequ.* holds a Court at *Tardenfield*, 870. returned at the Election for *Hinden-Borough*, 872. ſupplanted by the Agents of Sir *Thomas Thynne*, ib. receives a Meſſage from General *Lambert*, 874. his Conference with Major *Whitby*, 875 & 876. arrives at *London*, 877.

M.

Maccarty Reagh accuſed of committing Murder, 436. acquitted, 443.

Major-Generals, placed in ſeveral Counties, 519. how employed, *ib.* their Inſolence, 559. they Decimate whom they pleaſe, *ib.* ſtop Proceedings at Law, *ib.* threaten thoſe that oppoſe them with Tranſportation, *ib.* accuſed in Parliament, 580 & 581. they inſiſt on the Confirmation of the Inſtrument of Government, *ib.* and of their Power, *ib.* their Authority abrogated, *ib.*

Manning (*Henry*) employed by *O. Cromwell* as a Spy, 607, 608. betrays K. *Charles* II. ib. his Treachery diſcovered, 609. ſhot to death, *ib.*

Markham (Major) careſſed by *Henry Cromwell*, 602.

Martin (Colonel) his witty Allegory with reſpect to General *Monk*'s Proceedings, 810 & 811.

Mayo (Lord) charged with committing Murder, 436. declared guilty and executed, 443.

Memento, a Writing againſt *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation, 520. diſperſed in *Ireland*, ib. & 521.

Middleton (Lieutenant General) Lands in the North of *Scotland*, 505. routed by Colonel *Morgan*, 507. wounded in the Fight, *ib.* makes his Eſcape on foot, *ib.*

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Miller (Colonel) made Lieutenant of the *Tower*, 763. ſubmits himſelf and his Garriſon to the Speaker, 807.

Miniſters, publickly declare againſt *Cromwell*'s Uſurpation, 490. impriſoned upon that account, *ib.*

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vides his Army into ſeveral Bodies, 506. defeats Lieutenant General *Middleton*'s Forces, *ib.* & 507. his Character, 643. ſuſpected by the *Walingford*-Houſe Party, *ib.* nominated one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715. declares againſt their Proceedings, 716. and for the Parliament, 728. his Letter to the Speaker, *ib.* to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and to Colonel *Lambert*, ib. reſolves to march to *London*, 737. new models his Men, *ib.* begins his march for *England*, 809. ſollicited to uſe his Intereſt for a free Parliament, *ib.* enters *Newcaſtle*, ib. advances to *Nottingham*, 810. inſiſts upon the Removal of the Sectaries out of the Army, 812, 813. preſſes to have the Forces about *London* removed, 814, 815. comes to *Barnet*, 818. marches to *London*, 819. takes up his Lodgings at *Whitehall*, ib. his Arrival congratulated by ſome Members, *ib.* his Conference with General *Ludlow*, 820 & 821. his Proteſtations *to live and die for and with a Common wealth*, ib. & 835. he goes to the Parliament, 821. receives the Thanks of the Houſe, *ib.* his anſwer, *ib.* & 822. his Wife entertains thoſe of the Members, *ib.* he takes down the City-Gates and Portcullices, 824, 825. pulls up the Poſts and Chains, *ib.* ſends a Letter to the Speaker, 825. the Contents of it, *ib.* & 826. receives new Orders from the Parliament, *ib.* lies in the City, *ib.* returns with his Forces to *Whitehall*, ib. ſends another Letter to the Houſe, *ib.* the Particulars of it, *ib.* & 827. he muſters his Forces in the City, 829. ſplendidly entertained by the Mayor, 829. voted to be one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament-Forces, 830. forms a Militia in the City, 831. promotes a Meeting between the ſitting and ſecluded Members, 836. cauſes the Common-Council to be aſſembled, 839. his Speech to them, 840. quarters again at *Whitehall*, 845. his Excuſes for bringing in the ſecluded Members, 847. chooſes 200 Horſe for his own Guard, 848. made a Member of the new Council, 850. his Proteſtation to Colonel *Okey*, 856. ſollicited by the Lords to be admitted into their Houſe, 858. gives them a poſitive Denial, 858. places a Guard upon their Houſe, 858. ſends a Letter to the Houſe about the Militia-Act, 862. calls a new Parliament, 878. ſends to the Lords to come to their Houſe, 878.

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Morley

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Moſſon (Colonel) entertains *Henry Cromwell*, 534. Drinks his Father's Health, 534.

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N.

Nevil (*Henry*) ſues the Sheriff of *Berks*, 600. the ſum of 1500 l. adjudged to him for Damages, 601. charged with falſe Aſperſions, 602. defrauded of his Damages, 602. admitted into the Council of State, 656.

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Newdigate (Judge) refuſes to grant a *Habeas Corpus* to Sir *Robert Pye*, 842. his Declaration upon that occaſion, 842.

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Norton (Colonel) Governour of *Portſmouth*, diſcharged from that Office, 653, choſen a Member of the new Council of State, 850.

O

Oath; adminiſtred to the Members of *Richard Cromwell*'s Convention, 619 & *ſequ.* an Oath enjoyned for the Abjuration of the *Stuarts* Family, 811.

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Okey (Colonel) his Conference with the Officers of his Regiment, 520 cashiered by *O. Cromwell*, 614 restored by the *Wallingford*-House Officers, 644. he endeavours to seize the *Tower* for the Parliament, 763. retires to the Fleet, 771. murders a Party in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, 807.

O Neal (Sir *Phelim*) a principal Actor in the Rebellion, 445, surprizes and murders the Lord *Caulfield*, 446. the sum of 100 l. set upon his Head, 446. taken and condemned to Death, 446. his Head set upon one of the Gates, 446.

Onslow (Sir *Richard*) summoned to *O. Cromwell*'s House of Lords, 595. chosen one of the new Council of State, 850.

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Overbury (Mr.) of *Gloucester* receives a Chest full of Arms, 658. gives notice of it to Captain *Crofts*, 658.

Overton (Major General) accused of a treacherous Design, 520. sent Prisoner to *London*, ibid. committed to the *Tower*, ibid. sent in Custody to *Jersey*, 533. removed from the Government of *Hull*, 859.

Owen (Dr. *John*) draws up a Petition for Colonel *Pride*, 588 desires a List of the Members of the Long Parliament, 645. carries it to those at *Wallingford*-House, 588.

P.

Pack (Mr.) Alderman of *London*, presents a new Form of Government to the House, 583. by whom opposed, 583 & 584. born down from the Speaker's Chair to the Bar, 584.

Packer (Colonel) Major of *Cromwell*'s Regiment of Horse, 599. dismissed from his Command, 600. restored by the Council of Officers, 642

Peters (*Hugh*) keeps fair with the Court-Party, 566. his Conference with Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, 566 & 567.

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Parliament under *O. Cromwell*, 497. resolve to lay a Claim to their Liberties, 499. refer the Consideration of the *Instrument of Government* to a Committee, 499. their Debate about the Government

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Parliament under *Rich. Cromwell*, 615. Debates about the adminiſtration of an Oath, 619 & 620. the Recognition of *Rich. Cromwell* brought into the Houſe, 623 Contentions between the Court and Common-wealth Parties, *ibid* & *ſeqq.* Debates about the *Scotiſh* and *Iriſh* Members, 626, 627 & 628. about the Houſe of Lords, 628, 629 & 630. that Houſe Eſtabliſhed, 629. the Vote againſt the Council of Officers, 638. Authorize *Rich. Cromwell* to diſperſe them, *ibid.* declare him General of the Army, *ibid.* ſuddenly Diſſolved, 641 & 642 a Padlock ſet on the Door of the Houſe, 642. a Guard placed in the Court of Requeſts, *ibid.*

Long Parliament reſtored, 648. ſome of the Members repair to the Speaker's Houſe, 649. he makes ſeveral Excuſes, *ibid.* they order the Clerks to draw Directions for ſummoning the other Members, 650. take their Places in the Houſe, 651.

the Speaker leads the way, *ibid.* they appoint a Committee of Safety, *ibid.* Writs, &c. to run in the Name of *the Keepers of the Liberties of* England, 652. reſolve that no Member ſhall be a Judge, 653. appoint a Committee for Sea-Affairs, 635. declare how the Nation ſhall be governed, 655, 656. order *Whitehall* to be cleared, 656. and that *Rich. Cromwell* have notice of it, *ibid.* conſtitute a Council of State, *ibid.* the Members choſen for that Office, *ibid.* their Anſwer to an Addreſs from *Wallingford* Houſe, 660. appoint Commiſſioners for the nomination of Officers, *ibid.* make Lieut. General *Fleetwood* Commander in chief, *ibid.* order that the Officers ſhall receive their Commiſſions from the Speaker, 660, 661 & 662. that 2000*l* be paid to *Rich. Cromwell*, 665 paſs a Reſolution to pay his Debts, *ibid.* inſpect the Affairs of *Ireland*, 665. their agreement with the States of *Holland*, 667. they eſtabliſh their Judges in all the Courts, *ibid.* appoint Gen. *Ludlow* Commander in chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, 668 & 669. raiſe a Troop of Horſe for their own Guard, 670. ſettle a Trade with *Spain*, 672. Debate about a Form of Government, 674 & 675. paſs an Act of Indemnity, 672 & 676. diſapprove the *Darby*-Petition, 705 & 720. their Anſwer to the Addreſs by the Council of Officers, 721. They Vote Lieutenant General *Fleetwood's* Commiſſion to be void, 722. their Meeting obſtructed by the Army, 725. Guards placed about the Houſe, *ibid.* the Members conſult about proper means for their Reſtitution, 745. Re-inſtated in their Authority, 807. they appoint an Oath for the Abjuration of the *Stuarts* Family, 811. ſend two Members as their Commiſſioners to General *Monk*, 812. and others to congratulate his Arrival, 819. deſire his Attendance at the Houſe, 821. order him the Thanks of the Houſe, 821. Vote a 1000*l. per annum* to be ſettled upon him, 822. many alarms given to the Parliament, 823. they proceed on the Bill for filling up the Houſe, *ibid.* approve what the General had done in the City, 825. order 50*l.* for his Dinner *ibid.* receive a Letter from him, *ibid.* require of him the exact performance of their Orders, 826. they receive another Letter from Gen. *Monk*, ibid. order Sir *Hen. Vane* to depart by a certain Day, 827. ſet a time for Col. *Lambert*, to ſurrender himſelf, *ibid.* iſſue out Writs for recruiting the Houſe, 828. Vote that their Armies ſhall be Governed by Commiſſioners, 830. nominate General *Monk* to be one of them, *ibid.* order the Forces in *Ireland*, to be included in that Commiſſion, 831. receive an inſolent Letter from *Ireland*, 837. The Contents of it, 837. the ſecluded Members admitted into the Houſe, 845. they aſſume the Authority of a Parliament, 847. conſtitute

conſtitute *Monk* General of all the Parliament-Forces both by Sea and Land, 848 joyn Col. *Mountague* with him in the Office of Admiral, *ib.* continue the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, *ib.* chooſe a new Council of State, 850. prepare an Act for ſettling the Militia, 856. and 1020 *l.* a Year on General *Monk*, ibid. a Debate whether the King's Party ſhould be admitted to Elections, 860. carried in the Affirmative, *ibid.* paſs the Militia Act, 861. deſired by Monk to forbear the Execution of it, 862. their Anſwer to his Letter touching that Buſineſs, *ibid.* & 863. they authoriſe the Council of State to act till the meeting of the next Parliament, 863. paſs the Act for their Diſſolution, *ibid* & 864.

Parliament under General *Monk* meet at *Weſtminſter*, 878. the Lords re-admitted to their Houſe, *ibid.* they Vote that the Government ſhould be by a King, Lords and Commons, *ibid.* and that *Charles Stuart* ſhould be proclaimed King of *England*, &c. *ibid.*

Penn (Vice-Admiral) one of the Four chief Commanders of the Fleet, 470. obtains the Command of a Tranſport-Fleet, 494. they arrive at *Barbadoes*, ibid. at *Hiſpaniola*, 495. he returns to *England*, 496. Accuſed by Col. *Venables*, ibid. Committed to the Tower, *ibid.*

Penruddock (Col.) Heads a Party of Cavaliers, 516. taken Priſoner, *ibid.* Condemned to Death, 517. Beheaded, 518.

Petition to *Cromwell* ſigned by the Army, 520. another Petition preſented to the Houſe by the Officers, 589. the Contents of it, *ibid* & 590. the humble Petition and Advice of the Houſe to *Cromwell*, 591 & 593. a particular Clauſe therein, 611. a Petition from Col. *Lambert*'s Officers to the Parliament, 698. diſapproved by the Officers of *Ireland*, 700.

Pickering (Sir *Gilb.*) one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.

Popham (*Alex.*) Summoned to *O. Cromwell*'s Houſe of Lords, 595.

Portſmouth, ſome of the Parliament-Party admitted there, 746.

Pride (Col.) Knighted with a Faggot-ſtick, 587. his Conference with Col. *Desborough*, ibid. & 588. cauſes a Petition to the Houſe to be drawn up, *ibid.*

Projects concerning a Form of Government, 674 & 675.

Protector, a Title given to the chief Magiſtrate, 477. the Legiſlative Power declared to be in the Parliament and the Protector, 478. the Conſent of the latter requiſite in all Acts, *ibid.* Writs to be iſſued out in his Name, *ibid.* inveſted with the Power of the Militia, *ibid.* the Nation to be governed by him and his Council, *ibid.* & 479. *O. Cromwell* veſted with that Authority, 592.

Purefoy (Col.) keeps *Warwick-ſhire* in the Obedience of the Parliament, 688.

Pye (Sir *Robert*) Committed to the Tower by the Parliament, 842. ſues for his *Habeas Corpus*, ibid. denied it, *ibid.*

Q

Queen of *Sweden* ſigns the Articles agreed upon between the *Engliſh* and *Swedes*, 488.

R.

Rabble, cry out for a Free Parliament, 840. make Bonfires for roaſting the Rump, *ibid.*

Recogn ſing, that Word propoſed to be changed for *Agniſing*, 624.

Reynolds (Commiſſioner General) leads a Troop of 300 Officers to Grocers Hall, 493 Choſen one of the Council of State, 656.

Rich (Col.) ſummoned before *Cromwell*'s Council, 489. required to give up his Commiſſion, *ibid.* put in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, *ibid.* brought again before the Council, 568. preſſed to give Security for his good Behaviour, 569. ſent Priſoner to *Windſor*-Caſtle, *ibid.* Reſtored to his Command, 670. his Regiment given to Col. *Ingolsby*, 818.

Rolls (Judge) deters *George Cony*'s Trial, 529 obtains his *Quietus*, *ibid.*

Rouſe (Mr. *Francis*) Chairman to *O. Cromwell*'s Convention, 472. he endeavours to obtain a Vote for their Diſſolution, *ibid.* goes out of the Houſe and repairs to *Whitehall*, 475. Choſen one of his Council, 479.

S.

Saint Johns (*Oliver*) Chief Juſtice, choſen one of the Council of State, 656. and a Member of the new Council, 850.

Saint John's Town in *Scotland* Fortified, 562.

Salloway (Major) a Member of both the Committees of Safety, 651 & 715. and of the Council of State, 656. Committed to the Tower, 815.

Saunders (Col.) Caſhiered by *O. Cromwell*, 644. Reſtored by *Wallingford* Houſe Party, *ibid.*

Scott (*Thomas*) choſen to ſerve in *O. Cromwell*'s Parliament, 498. Excluded from ſitting, 579 takes his Place again in the Houſe, 597. Choſen again under *Rich. Cromwell*, 618. one of the Committee of Safety, 652. and one of the Council of State, 656 appointed one of the Commiſſioners to General *Monk*, 812. publiſhes ſome of his Letters, *ibid.* the purport of them, *ibid.* he owns his having been concerned in the King's Death, 864 the Inſcription he wiſh'd might be engraved on his Tomb, *ibid.* he withdraws himſelf from the Houſe, *ibid.* retires into the Country, 866.

Scrop

Scroop (Col. *Adrian*) removed from *Briſtol*-Caſtle, 504. made one of the Commiſſioners for the Government of *Scotland*, ib.
Secluded Members have their Meetings in the City, 822. a Meeting propoſed between them and the ſitting Members, 16. admitted into the Houſe, 845. they take upon them the Authority of a Parliament, 847.
Sexby (Col.) ſent for to be ſecured, 530. betakes himſelf to Flight, *ibid.* he accepts of an Employment at *Bourdeaux*, 541. his Buſineſs betrayed to the Magiſtrates, *ibid.* they give Order to ſeize him, *ibid.* he eſcapes by Night, *ibid.* departs from *France*, ibid.
Sidney (Col. *Algernoon*) Choſen one of the Council of State, 656. and one of the Plenipotentiaries to *Holland*, 667
Slingsby (Sir *Henry*) Impriſoned, 605. the Charge brought againſt him, 606. pronounced Guilty, 607. adjudged to Dye, *ibid.* Beheaded, *ibid.*
Somerſet-Houſe Sold, 679. the Chappel turned into a *French* Church, *ibid.*
Souldiery; divers Bills prepared in their favour, 580. their Inſolence, *ibid.*
Spaniſh Ambaſſador; his Application to *O. Cromwell*, 494.
Steel (Serj.) one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715. arrives in *England*, 740. refuſes to act in the Committee, 741.
Sterling and St. *John*'s Town Fortified, 662.
Sterrye (Mr.) his Expreſſion upon the News of *O. Cromwell*'s Death 612.
Strickland (*Walt.*) one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
Sydenham (Col.) Choſen one of both the Committees of Safety, 651 & 715. and of the Council of State, 656.

T.

Temple (Col. *Edm.*) ſeized at *Cheſter*, 685. brought before Sir *George Booth*, ibid. permitted to Embark for *Ireland*, ibid. poſſeſſes himſelf of *Carlo*, 787. ordered to block up *Duncannon*-Fort, 796.
Thomlinſon (Col.) Accuſed of High Treaſon, 806. Summoned to the new Council of State, 867
Thompſon (Col.) one of the Members of the Council of State, 656. forced to ſign an Engagement, 870.
Thurloe (Secretary) brings the Recognition of *Rich. Cromwell* into the Houſe, 623.
Titchburn (Col.) one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
Took (*Luke*) Head of an *Iriſh* Sept ſubmits to the Parliament, 444. Accuſed of Murder, 445. Convicted and Executed, 445.
Townſend (Sir *Horatio*) choſen one of the Council of State, 656.
Tyrrel (Serj.) made one of the Commiſſioners of the Broad-Seal, 667, 668.

V.

Vane (Sir *Henry*) ſummoned before *O. Cromwell*'s Council, 568. charged with diſaffection to the Government, 576. required to give Security, 577. appears again before the Council, *ib.* ſent Priſoner to *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, *ib.* ſet at liberty, 594. his Title to his Eſtate called in queſtion, *ib.* choſen a Member of the Convention under *Richard Cromwell*, 618 & 619. one of the Parliament Committee of Safety, 651. one of the Council of State, 656. one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715. diſcharged from being a Member of Parliament, 805. commanded to depart from *London*, ib. & 827. prepares to leave the Town, 828.

Van Trump (Dutch Admiral) Convoys a Fleet of Merchant Ships, 437. engages the Engliſh Fleet, 438. routed by them, 466 & 467. killed with a Musket-Ball, 468.

Venables (Colonel) made Commander of an Army, 49. defeated near *Hiſpaniola*, 493 & 494. Lands at *Jamaica*, 496. diſabled by Sickneſs, *ib.* returns to *England*, ib. accuſed by Vice-Admiral *Penn*, ib. confined to his Lodgings, *ib.*

W.

Wagſtaff (Colonel) Commands a Party of Cavaliers, 516. eſcapes after the Defeat, 517.

Walcot (Captain) ſeized at *Cheſter*, 849. makes his Eſcape to *London*, 850. his Remonſtrance to General *Monk*, *ib.* obtains a Paſs-port for *Ireland*, ib.

Waller (Sir *Hardreſs*) aſſiſts at the Proclaiming of *O. Cromwell* in *Ireland*, 483. gets Poſſeſſion of *Dublin*-Caſtle, 677, 678. ſummoned by Sir *Charles Coote*, 838. delivered with the Place into his Hands, 839. obtains leave to go into *England*, 850. diſcharged from Cuſtody, *ib.*

Waller (Sir *William*) choſen one of the new Council of State, 856.

Wallingford-Houſe Party; their Riſe, 631. abandoned by *Richard Cromwell*, 633. their Conference with General *Ludlow*, 634 & 635. they poſſeſs themſelves of the ſupreme Power, 644. preſſed to reſtore the Long Parliament, *ib.* their Debates about that Matter, 644 & 645. they appoint a Committee to treat with ſome Members, *ib.* their Demands, 645 & 646. the Anſwers to them, 646, 647 & 648. their Addreſs to the Parliament, 659. the principal Heads of it, *ib.* & 660. the Parliament's Anſwer, 660. they agree upon the *Darby*-Petition, 719. their Addreſs to the Houſe, 721. they put an end to the ſitting of the Parliament, 725.

Wallop (*Robert*) a Member of Parliament under *O. Cromwell*, 498. choſen one of the Council of State, 656.

Walton

Walton (Colonel) made one of the Council of State, 656. voted one of the Commissioners of the Parliament-Forces, 830.
Waring (Captain) secures *Wrexham* for the Parliament, 687.
Warrington possessed by Sir *George Booth*'s Party, 693. the Fight thereabouts, *ib.*
Warriston (Lord) chosen one of the Council of State, 657. one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
Warwick (Earl of) attends *O. Cromwell* at his Investiture, 592: refuses to sit in the House of Lords, 596. his Son married to *Cromwell*'s Daughter, 604.
Weaver (*John*) receives a Gratuity of 2000 l. 513. chosen a Member of *Richard Cromwell*'s Convention, 618.
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